

"We're not going back."

Blacks battle the Klan in Alabama



PLUS

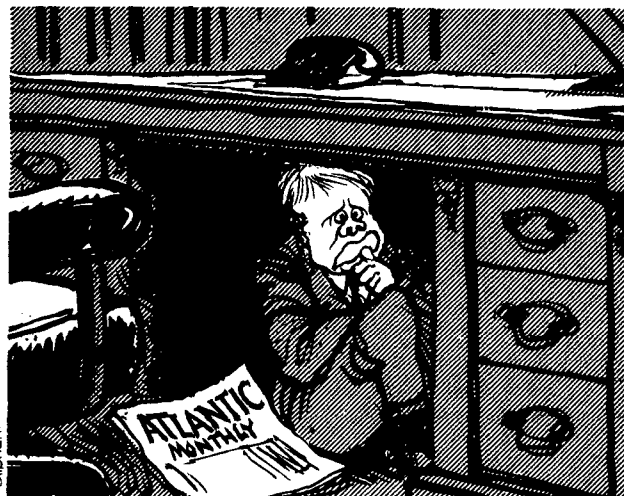
Citizens Party opens up New York office

'70s paved with political meanness, says Doug Fraser

Hydrogen bubble reveals fatal flaw in nuclear hardware

THE INSIDE STORY

JOHN JUDIS



Look out Democrats! The Citizens Party is on the way

"The Democratic Party is scarcely a party," Don Rose said. "There are no significant answers coming out of it. Liberal Democratic answers are at best half-way answers. They are not providing significant alternatives for the economy, energy, for people controlling their own lives. We're trying to initiate something that has the potential for growing."

Rose, a longtime political activist who managed Jane Byrne's upset over Michael Bilandic in last winter's Chicago mayoralty race, is one of a small group that has begun organizing a left-wing third party for 1980. Other organizers include Barry Commoner, Archibald Gilles, president of the John Hay Whitney Foundation, businessman Stanley Weiss, and David Hunter, executive director of the Stern Fund. The party already has a name—the Citizens Party—and an office in New York. Last week, as *IN THESE TIMES* was going to press, the party's founders were meeting to hammer out a "pre-platform" and to formulate an initial strategy for launching the party.

The party's perspective will focus on social control of investment, with nationalization of energy a principal target. Between now and January, it will try to develop state committees that would come together and nominate a presidential candidate. Among possible candidates mentioned are Commoner, Rep. Ron Dellums (D-CA), Ralph Nader, and Sen. Mark Hatfield. (R-Or). They will have started too late, Rose concedes, to qualify for federal matching funds, but he believes that with Gilles, Weiss, and Hunter among the organizers, they should be able to raise enough money.

Rose and Gilles talk about winning 5 percent of the vote in 1980, which they think will give the party a good start. "I am not talking about building a majority in two years," Rose said. "I'm talking about building a foundation."

The Citizens Party has yet to attract support from labor and minority organizations, which are still primarily within the Democratic camp. If Kennedy does not run, and Carter faces a "tweedledum" choice like Howard Baker, Rose could foresee such support coming, but he doesn't base his hopes on the organized leadership but rather on the widespread popular discontent with both political parties and their alternatives.

Gilles sees the Citizens Party as an experiment. "You start the train and see who jumps on," he said.

In two weeks, *IN THESE TIMES* will have a longer report on the Citizens Party.

Carter had only himself to offer

Jimmy Carter's troubles primarily result from structural dilemmas of American capitalism rather than personal failings. Within the framework of corporate capitalism, there simply are no solutions to the nation's biggest problems. There is no program that can stimulate investment, hold down prices, induce full employment,

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and stabilize the dollar. There is no program that can encourage energy development and conservation without threatening either powerful corporate interests or the ordinary American's standard of living.

James Fallows's two-part critique of the Carter administration in the May and June *Atlantic Monthly* unintentionally bears out this point. Fallows, a speechwriter for Carter from summer 1978 to late 1978, notes that Carter succeeded as a candidate because he was able to convey a sense of "who he was" to the American people. Fallows remains an admirer of Jimmy Carter the man. "If I had to choose one politician to sit at the Pearly Gates and pass judgment on my soul, it would be Jimmy Carter."

But Fallows thinks Carter has failed as a president because he has not "offered an object for loyalty larger than himself." Carter has not given an idea for his staff or for the American people to follow. "The central idea of the Carter administration is Jimmy Carter himself," Fallows notes. "Carter did not really know what he wanted to do in such crucial areas as taxes, welfare, energy, and the reorganization of government."

Fallows chides Carter for trying to reduce political problems like energy or government reorganization to technical ones. "When he spoke of cleaning up the bureaucracy," Fallows says, "he spoke like a Peace Corps volunteer explaining hygiene in Malaysia."

Fallows says on the record what "White House sources," "White House insiders," and "disgruntled Carterites" had been saying for over a year to Capitol Hill reporters. He vents his spleen on the Georgians that surround Carter, particularly Congressional liaison Frank Moore. He describes the White House staff as a "bureaucracy, drained of zeal, obsessed with form, full of people attracted by the side-dressings of their work rather than the work itself."

Fallows has been attacked for not allowing a "discreet interval" to pass before airing his complaints about the Carter administration, but his critique is not really an insider's expose but an impassioned memo to the President to develop some big ideas and improve his staff.

Fallows does not, however, offer any new ideas himself. He does complain that Carter and his aides ignored his memoranda on the volunteer army, ways of monitoring bureaucratic performance, and different gestures the President can make, but these memos could hardly have furnished the "larger picture" that he says Carter lacked.

Fallows describes a briefing on the economy, held in fall 1978 when the administration was trying to formulate a domestic program. He uses the story to illustrate Carter's impatience with discussion, but it also illustrates the atmosphere of political bewilderment in which the administration is operating.

"Carter grew impatient," Fallows says. "This wasn't a decision meeting at all, he said at one crucial session; instead of presenting him with options, his advisers were suggesting there was no good option to choose. Robert Strauss volunteered that perhaps he was to blame for the irritation the President was expressing, since he had thought it important for the President to hear firsthand his advisers' frustration, to take part in their conversations and understand the pessimism and confusion so many of them felt."

Carter gets shelled in Peanutgate scandal

Energy has been described as Carter's Vietnam. The scandal surrounding \$500,000 that disappeared from Carter's peanut warehouse in spring 1976 may end being his "Watergate." In a May 19 article in *The Nation*, Peter Peckarsky suggestively draws together the differ-

ent threads in what has been called "Peanutgate"—the Bert Lance bank loans, the \$645,977 that the Carter campaign owed Gerald Rafshoon's Atlanta ad agency, and the mysterious \$500,000. Peckarsky's forthcoming book, along with *New York Times* columnist William Safire's persistent needling, may blow the scandal open.

Peckarsky develops a theory around the crucial Pennsylvania primary of April 27, 1976. This primary was the final reckoning between Carter and pre-primary favorite Henry Jackson, and it was fought without the benefit of federal matching fundings, which had been held up by a Supreme Court ruling. Jackson lost largely because he was outspent by Carter \$472,117 to \$163,305. Where did Carter, who was already running a \$1 million campaign debt, get the funds?

According to Peckarsky, the Carter campaign incurred its \$645,977 debt to Rafshoon during that spring. The Rafshoon debt may be illegal on the face of it—corporations are not allowed to extend credit to campaigns beyond their normal business practices. Most ad firms extend no credit to campaigns, let alone hundreds of thousands of dollars. But there is also no way, according to Peckarsky, that Rafshoon's firm, with annual profits of \$70,000 could have advanced the money itself.

Peckarsky traces \$155,000 of the advanced money to a loan from Bert Lance's National Bank of Georgia; he traces the remaining \$500,000 to the money that Billy Carter, who was then running the Carter businesses, transferred from the warehouse account in Lance's bank to his own account and then withdrew for unstated purposes. Peckarsky speculates that this \$500,000 was used to pay Rafshoon, who returned it in May when he was reimbursed by the Carter campaign.

If Peckarsky's theory is right, Gerald Rafshoon and Billy Carter, possibly along with Bert Lance, Jimmy Carter and Robert Lipshutz, who is now White House counsel (shades of John Dean) but was then campaign treasurer, may be guilty of violating election and banking laws. (The \$500,000 was due in April as loan payments to Lance's bank.)

Peckarsky also speculates that delays and oversights in the federal investigation of Carter's campaign finances may be part of a deliberate Carter cover-up.

GOP to the rescue

Only the Republicans can save Carter from being the first elected incumbent since Herbert Hoover to be defeated for re-election. Any moderate Republican stands a good chance of defeating Carter (if Carter gets the Democratic nomination), but a right-wing Republican or a 69-year-old Ronald Reagan could be vulnerable. A Republican right-winger could unite the Democrats as nothing else could.

Last month, the Reagan campaign was given a substantial boost, but not through anything it did. Rep. Phil Crane (R-IL), who was expected to divide the right-wing vote in the primaries, looks now like he will have to drop out of the race. With his campaign \$2 million in debt, his campaign committee has split between Crane's Illinois loyalists, including his wife, and the Washington professionals Crane has hired. The Illinois loyalists wanted Crane to cut back. The Washington professionals wanted him to forge ahead on the strength of prospective matching funds. The Illinois loyalists don't even want Crane to take those funds. The loyalists won, and most of Crane's national staff resigned.

Half of Crane's debt is owed to New Right direct mail expert Richard Viguerie. Alarmed at the debt and at Crane's refusal to hand over the names of contributors, Viguerie has threatened suit.

Crane is now reported to be aiming for 1984. ■

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IN THESE TIMES

The Klan rises again in the new South

By Tom Gordon

ANNISTON, ALA.

IN HIS INAUGURAL ADDRESS LAST January, Wallace's successor, Fob James, said, "I claim for all Alabamians a new beginning, free from racism and discrimination. Let us bury forever the negative prejudices of the past."

Those words are symbolic of the substantial changes that have swept the South since the days of the civil rights movement. No longer are blacks completely without political clout and access to jobs, or relegated to the back door, the theater balcony or the rear of the bus.

But the past hasn't fully disappeared, though many Southerners wish it had. An ugly legacy reared its head last Saturday in Decatur, Ala., when Ku Klux Klansmen and blacks fought in the city's downtown streets.

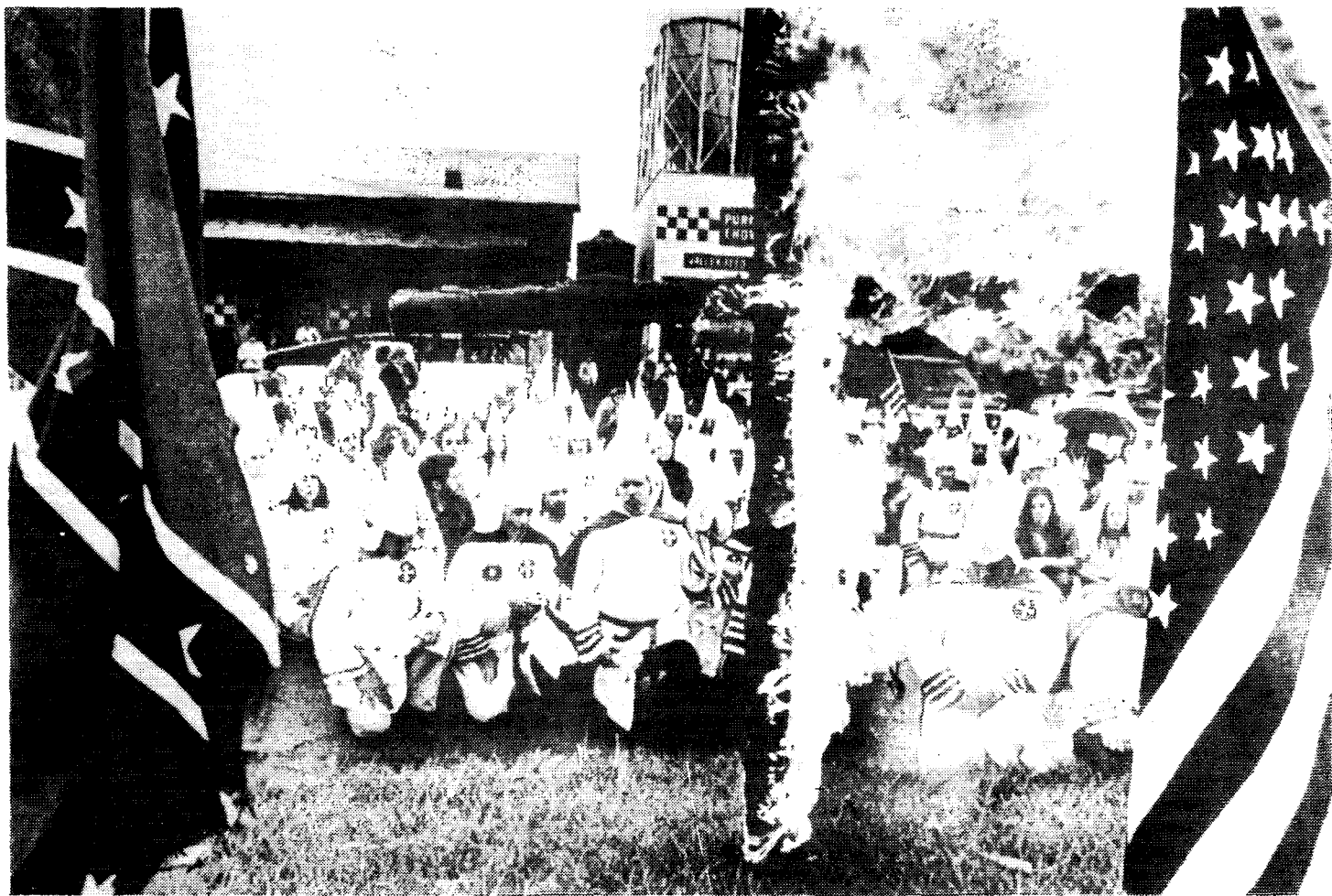
Members of the Louisiana-based Invisible Empire, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, and blacks have been facing each other off and on since May 1978, when Tommy Lee Hines, a mentally retarded black man, was arrested and charged with raping a white woman. Black groups, led by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, have protested Hines' innocence and have demonstrated on his behalf. Klansmen have responded with counterdemonstrations in support of Decatur police.

Saturday's episode was the worst yet in the Hines affair. Clubs were swung. Guns were fired. Two Klansmen and two blacks were hospitalized with wounds.

A black man was arrested on Monday, charged with assault with intent to murder a Klansman and two Klansmen were charged with assaulting two policemen. The SCLC disowned Curtis Lee Robinson, 49, after the charges were made.

Both the SCLC and the Klan have announced that they will march again soon, though no definite plans had been made at this writing. The FBI opened an investigation immediately to discover whether civil rights had been violated.

Any thought that the future may bring a respite was laid to rest by Bill Wilkinson, the Invisible Empire's imperial wiz-



About 165 Klan members burned a memorial cross May 27 in Decatur, Ala., for two Klan members who had been shot.

ard. Saying that blacks had fired the shots in Saturday's troubles and that his men had been unarmed, the 41-year-old Wilkinson said Klansmen would be armed at future rallies in Decatur or anywhere else.

The trouble in Decatur was just the latest of about two dozen black/Klan encounters that have hit the South, particularly in northern Mississippi and Alabama, in the past two years. In most of these instances, the Klan is more visible and talking tougher, but unlike the past, blacks aren't willing to give ground.

There have been black/Klan run-ins in Gadsden, Ala., where SCLC and other black protests began in early 1978 following the fatal shooting of a black man by police after a high-speed chase. Recently in Carbon Hill, Ala., a Klansman was arrested and charged with shooting and wounding a black man who drove by a Klan fund-raising roadblock.

Earlier this year in New Market, Ala., a black couple reported Klansmen surrounded their home and fired shots over it, apparently responding to shots being fired at a Klan rally on the same night.

In early spring, Klansmen said they would patrol the streets of Selma, Ala., to keep crime down. Selma was tense at the time because a white woman had been raped by a black man, and two black youths had later been fired upon by whites in a passing car. Selma officials weren't interested in the Klan's help, so the Klansmen contented themselves with a sidewalk parade and rally. Despite some hostility from nearby blacks and some verbal exchanges, the situation remained calm.

In April, FBI agents went to the Childersburg-Sylacauga, Ala., area and arrested 21 men, most of them suspected Klan members. The suspects were charged in connection with shootings into the homes of some local black leaders, shootings into the homes of two interracial couples and the impersonation of an FBI agent in a beating incident. Three other men, two reportedly Klansmen, also were charged by local officials in connection with the abduction and whipping of a white woman because of her alleged association with blacks.

Even with these episodes and others, it's difficult to say whether the Klan has entered a growth phase. Klan members are not very specific about numbers, but certainly the hooded, robed extremists seem to be finding plenty of fertile ground to plow.

"The increased activities of the Klan are alarming," says Ozell Sutton, regional

The trouble in Decatur is the latest of about two dozen black/Klan encounters that have hit the South particularly in northern Mississippi and Alabama in the past two years.

director of the Justice Department's community relations service in Atlanta. Sutton's office monitors and tries to settle race-related problems plaguing communities in the Southeast.

"When we talk about race relations, we can't help but be aware that increased Klan activity can do nothing but heighten tensions and provoke incidents," Sutton said recently.

Founded by a group of Southerners during Reconstruction, the Klan has had its ups and downs. Its members often saw themselves as a community's moral bulwark, and they periodically administered punishments to whites whom they felt drank too much, mistreated their families or refused to work at a decent job.

But over most of its 113-year existence, the Klan was probably the most feared because of its successful efforts to deny Southern blacks their citizenship rights. Its act of violence and intimidation made it hard and costly for blacks to resist exploitation and racist tyranny.

A number of different Ku Klux Klan groups have come and gone from the Southern scene over the years. Their basic pitch has been white supremacy, but their tactics have varied.

The major Klan groups now in the South are the United Klans of America, headed by Robert Shelton of Tuscaloosa, Ala.; Wilkinson's Invisible Empire, based in Denham Springs, La.; and the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, headed by David Duke of Metairie, La.

Empire most violent.

Shelton's group operates at a lower key and with much less visibility than its Louisiana counterparts. The 49-year-old Shelton has low regard for them, saying their activities are discrediting the Klan.

Wilkinson's group has been involved in most of the Alabama and Mississippi Klan episodes of the past two years. His men have not been shy about showing their faces or in having arms at hand or nearby. Duke has used rallies and public

relations to boost his group's cause. Last year, he even took the Klan's message to England.

Invisible Empire supporters say that Wilkinson's group is more in tune with true Klan thinking and claim Shelton has lost touch since he served a federal prison term in 1968-69 for contempt of Congress.

Generally, though, leaders of each Klan group feel time and white thinking are on their side, and that the Klan now speaks for many whites who are sympathetic but keep their distance.

"We're just seeing the surface," Shelton says. "It's more serious than the politicians realize. We're on the verge of another revolution in this country."

And though their actions primarily have been racially inspired, the Klan groups, like other right-wing groups around the country, are addressing other concerns that have inflamed people in other parts of the country as well.

Says Chester Rockhold, a United Klan member from Repton, Ala.: "An overwhelming majority of the people who come and talk to me, not just in Alabama but throughout the whole nation, they seem to think this nation is swinging toward a communist or socialist form of government. There's too much 'make you do what we want you to do,' too many guidelines. It's against the way of living that the American people are used to."

The Klans are angry about other things—illegal aliens, public and private job preferences for minorities, school busing, inflation and a hamstringing criminal justice system.

Police brutality charged.

The "law and order" issue has prompted the heightened visibility of Wilkinson's Invisible Empire. Police conduct and criminal justice have been the prime targets of many recent SCLC marches and rallies. Dr. Joseph Lowery, SCLC president, says "a resurgence of police brutality" against blacks seems to be occur-

Continued on page 8.

Building a black base

While Klansmen and blacks battled in the streets in Decatur, Ala., another group of blacks met in Birmingham to organize for more influential and unified political action.

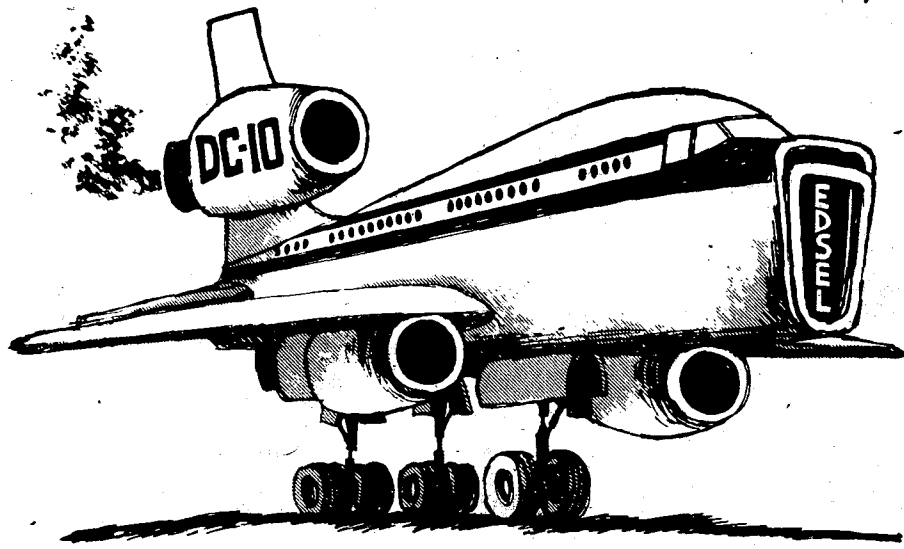
What emerged in the three-day caucus of political leaders from more than 150 organizations was a political organizing program and a serious conflict that led to shouting matches. There is strong disagreement over whether to support President Carter in 1980. Some of the group felt that Carter has not lived up to the promises made at his election, when blacks gave him 92 percent of their vote.

The purpose of the meetings were to organize a five region mechanism to keep blacks informed on national issues and to aid them in influencing their congressional representatives.

Leaders were requested to designate grass roots lobbyists in heavily black congressional districts in an effort to exert pressure on a minimum of 100 white representatives from black districts to vote with the Congressional Black Caucus on key issues.

The Caucus and delegates from 11 southern states have established an "action alert communications network" that Rep. Cardiss Collins (D-IL), head of the CBC, said would expand the impact of the Caucus to include at least 100 of the 535 members of the House. ■

IN SHORT



A "thud" heard from the cockpit could be clue

CHICAGO—In the wake of the worst single-plane crash in U.S. aviation history, involving a DC-10 aircraft on May 25 at Chicago's O'Hare International Airport, that killed all 272 persons aboard and two on the ground, the Federal Aviation Administration (FAA) grounded all DC-10s in use in the U.S. Although there is no firm statement from the FAA about the cause of the crash, evidence points to the loss of one engine just as the aircraft was leaving the ground.

The FAA grounded the aircraft because inspections ordered on the "pylon thrust link attach bolts" (one of four such bolts which are a part of a series of structures that attach each of the plane's engines to its wings) revealed serious flaws in seven DC-10s across the nation, according to FAA administrator, Langhorne Bond.

The latest development in the investigation, according to Robert Buckhorn, spokesperson for the National Transportation Board (NTSB), was the discovery of a "thud" sound heard in a testing of the Cockpit Voice Recorder (CVR). "This additional fact could be significant," he added. It could mean that something fell from the plane before it took off.

Of the world's 274 operating DC-10s, 134 are in use in the U.S., according to an FAA spokesperson. Several foreign airlines reported that they were checking their DC-10s for similar flaws.

Maurice Davis, chief officer of Air

New Zealand, said that safety standards in the U.S. are more lax than in his country. "Let's face it," he said, "there are some places where the standards are not nearly as high and, sad to say, the U.S. is one of those places."

In Chicago, a horizontal reinforcement plate in one pylon of a United Airlines DC-10 was found to have a crack, said Richard J. Ferris, United Airline's chairman and chief executive officer. He said the pylon is the structure that connects the engine to the wing.

The crack in the "pylon spar web" was detected as mechanics replaced the "thrust link" assembly bolts and inspected the surrounding area. The inspection and replacement were required by an FAA "airworthiness directive" recommended to the FAA by the NTSB.

NTSB recommended the emergency inspections when a bolt, three inches long and three-eighths inches in diameter, which was missing from the pylon wreckage, was found on Sunday.

Elwood Driver, NTSB vice chairman, said, "My men found the bolt with their feet as they walked through the grass on the southwest side of the runway, about 8,000 feet down the runway." Driver said the investigation revealed the presence of a fatigue fracture of the number one pylon forward thrust link attach bolt. "The bolt broke just short of the threads."

The crack in the bolt, which is made of steel, he said, in Chicago, may have been caused by "metal fatigue" which started

the sequence of the engine falling off the plane."

The plane has three turbofan engines, two of which are mounted on underwing pylons and the third above the rear fuselage at the base of the fin. The engines are powerful enough that even if one is lost the plane should be able to fly if it has reached a speed of approximately 160 miles an hour.

The DC-10 turbo jet engines, built by Pratt and Whitney or General Electric for McDonnell-Douglas Corporation, have had problems. On Sept. 11, 1978, the tail engine exploded on a United Airlines DC-10 shortly after take-off from O'Hare. The pilot was able to return to the airfield without injury to anyone. In 1972, metal chunks dropped from one of the engines on a Continental Airlines flight from Los Angeles to Chicago. The pilot was able to turn the plane around and land with no injuries. In 1975, an Overseas Airways pilot flew into a flock of seagulls while taking off from Kennedy International Airport in New York. The birds clogged the right wing engine, triggered an explosion and fire, but the plane was halted and all 139 passengers were safe. No record of an engine actually falling off a plane has been reported.

The DC-10, considered one of the world's most advanced jetliners, has had a succession of structural as well as engine problems that have caused tragic plane crashes. In addition to the tragedy in Chicago this past week, it was a DC-10 operated by Turkish Airlines that plummeted from a height of 13,000 feet, five minutes after take-off from Paris, killing all 346 persons aboard on March 3, 1974, the world's worst single-plane accident.

That accident was caused, according to a report by the National Safety Board, by a poorly designed cargo door. In 1972, an American Airlines DC-10 took off from Detroit, when, while 15,000 feet in the air, the rear door blew off. The pilot managed to return safely to Detroit. The problems with the door, in both cases, resulted in rapid decompression and collapse of the passenger cabin floor. The three plane control systems, which are located under the floor, were severed when the floor of the plane buckled, causing the pilot to lose control. The FAA ordered McDonnell-Douglas to make a number of corrections.

Buckhorn said they hope to get more information from the Digital Flight Data Recorder (DFR). The DFR is an investigative tool programmed for 42 different points of information, such as altitude of the plane, attitude (position in the air), movement of control services, flap and rudder position and angle.

Maintenance crews will begin checking the engines of American Airlines Flight in Tulsa on June 5.

Cornell wins Silver Snail

WASHINGTON—Cornell University won the 1979 "Silver Snail" award for "spectacularly sluggish affirmative action," announced Holly Knox, director of the Project on Equal Education Rights.

"In seven years of affirmative action, the University managed to increase the proportion of women faculty above the instructional level from just under 8 percent to just over 8 percent," said Knox.

Prize winners are picked periodically from among schools, colleges and government agencies nominated by the public for the "snail's pace" of their steps toward fair treatment of males and females.

PEER, a Washington-based project of the NOW Legal Defense and Education Fund, monitors and publicizes progress under federal law barring sex discrimination in Education.

A previous winner of the "Silver Snail" was the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) for its slow enforcement of Title IX of the 1972 Education Amendment. Title IX is the major federal law barring sex discrimination in schools and colleges receiving federal funds.

Nuclear plants banned temporarily

WASHINGTON—A six-month ban on construction of new nuclear power plants beginning Oct. 1, was approved May 9 by the House Interior Committee. The amendment was attached to the Nuclear Regulatory Commission authorization (HR 2608) for fiscal year 1980.

House Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr. (D-MA) predicted the House would support the committee action. Less than half a dozen plants would be delayed, according to committee aides.

WORLD

Iranian sheikh

The May 25 assassination attempt against the Sheikh Masher Rafsandjani, believed to represent the Islamic right wing on the secret Iranian Revolutionary Council, was predicted two weeks in advance by the Ayatollah Ruollah Khomeini's grandson Hussein.

Hussein told *Le Monde* correspondent Eric Rouleau May 10 that the CIA would pick Rafsandjani as its next target in order to blame the Communists and stir up popular anger against the left.

Rafsandjani had set off demonstrations against "Communists" by his funeral oration blaming the left for the May 1 assassination of fellow Revolutionary Council member Ayatollah Morteza Motahari. The murder was claimed by the mysterious "Forghan" organization.

"Sheikh Rafsandjani was wrong to say what he did," Hussein El Khomeini told Rouleau on May 10, *Le Monde* reported May 27. "From now on his life is in danger. I maintain that he will very probably be the CIA's next target. If he should be criminally attacked, the Communists will quite naturally be accused of being responsible. Public opinion will deduce that the left wanted to get revenge for his anti-communist statements."

The Ayatollah Khomeini's grandson said the people's movement should not fall into the trap set by the "imperialists" of turning "ideological divergences" between Moslems and Marxists into political fights. Asked if his grandfather agreed with him, Hussein said only that he spoke for his whole family.

Rafsandjani was wounded but not killed in the attack.

—Diana Johnstone

IN SHORT is written by Laura Cianci except when otherwise indicated.

NATION

Chicago Mayor's picnic bombs

CHICAGO—Chicago Mayor Jane Byrne ran into a lot of flak from her fellow politicians when she announced a "Welcome Home Picnic for Vietnam Vets" to be held on Memorial Day. Then the day turned out to be too cold for good picnic weather. And the publicity for the event wasn't what might be expected for the Mayor's first public event. The result was a flop—an estimated 2,000 instead of the 20,000 hoped for.

Vietnam veterans obviously are not in the mood for welcome home picnics ten years later. Even the presence of Ron Kovic, author of *Born on the Fourth of July*, and well-known paraplegic draft opponent did not attract them. There were scattered members of draft opponent groups, however, among the crowd of unenthusiastic people, many of whom just wandered in to the huge downtown Grant Park bandshell, which seats 50,000.

Kovic had been invited by the Mayor



to be the main speaker and a guest of the city. In a demonstration four days earlier to protest the awarding of an "international understanding" award to former Defense Secretary Robert McNamara at the University of Chicago, Kovic led a sit-in when police paddy wagons arrived on the scene of a peaceful demonstration.

In his comment to *IN THESE TIMES* on the arrest in Chicago while a guest of the mayor, Kovic said, "It wasn't the first time and it won't be the last. Chicago is still a bit of a police state, but the city has a new mayor and the picnic perhaps is the beginning of a new era for Vietnam vets."

—Florence Levinsohn

Al DiFranco

IN THE NATION

NEW YORK CITY

Coalition charges rail shutdown is economic suicide

By Josh Martin

NEW YORK

IN THE MAD RUSH TO DEVELOP valuable midtown property, New York City planners have almost eliminated all rail freight facilities which make the port, the nation's largest, economically viable. A billion dollar convention center and a major housing project have been planned for the two freight yards in Manhattan, and shopping centers have hobbled freight facilities in outer boroughs, forcing more firms to use trucks at a time when fuel shortages, price increases and pollution dangers loom greater than before.

If this were the '60s, a business group would step forth and recommend the construction of a new superhighway to ease truck congestion, but in an unusual twist, the city's Chamber of Commerce and labor and liberal groups have formed a loose coalition to save the city's rail freight facilities that, if abandoned, would cost billions to replace.

State Assemblyman Jerry Nadler (Manhattan), chairman of an Assembly subcommittee on Public Authorities, Rail and Mass Transit Operations, warns that "New York faces an imminent crisis" unless adequate rail freight access to the city is assured. "With oil and gas prices rising, it is clear that the economy of New York City and Long Island is going to be increasingly dependent on rail freight," he says. "Nobody is looking at the rail freight system and saying, 'here's what we need.' Separately, the yards are being let go without anybody looking at the whole system."

Nadler and Assemblyman Oliver Koppell (Bronx) have launched a series of investigative hearings to establish the city's transportation priorities before options are narrowed by the elimination of present facilities.

Traffic congestion being what it is, workers and manufacturers in the city's Garment District warn that the elimination of rail freight would result in an exodus of firms, costing the city 200,000 jobs and billions in lost revenue: companies can't afford to pay truckers for traffic delays, which can range anywhere from four hours to four days.

"The city's committing suicide," warns Pam Wowed of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers. "Firms don't want to leave, but the difficulty of shipping goods causes them to look elsewhere."

The major transportation agencies that normally should safeguard freight rail transit in the port area—Conrail, Port of New York and New Jersey Authority, and city and state Departments of Transportation—have concerned themselves with cosmetic rather than substantive improvements. Connecting lines have been built, for example, with no planner realizing that the freight yard destinations are poorly located or lack facilities for modern containerized freight.

The inadequacy of the present rail system has resulted in a decline in port rail traffic from 650,000 cars per year in 1962 to 250,000 today, which has not been compensated for by increased truck use.

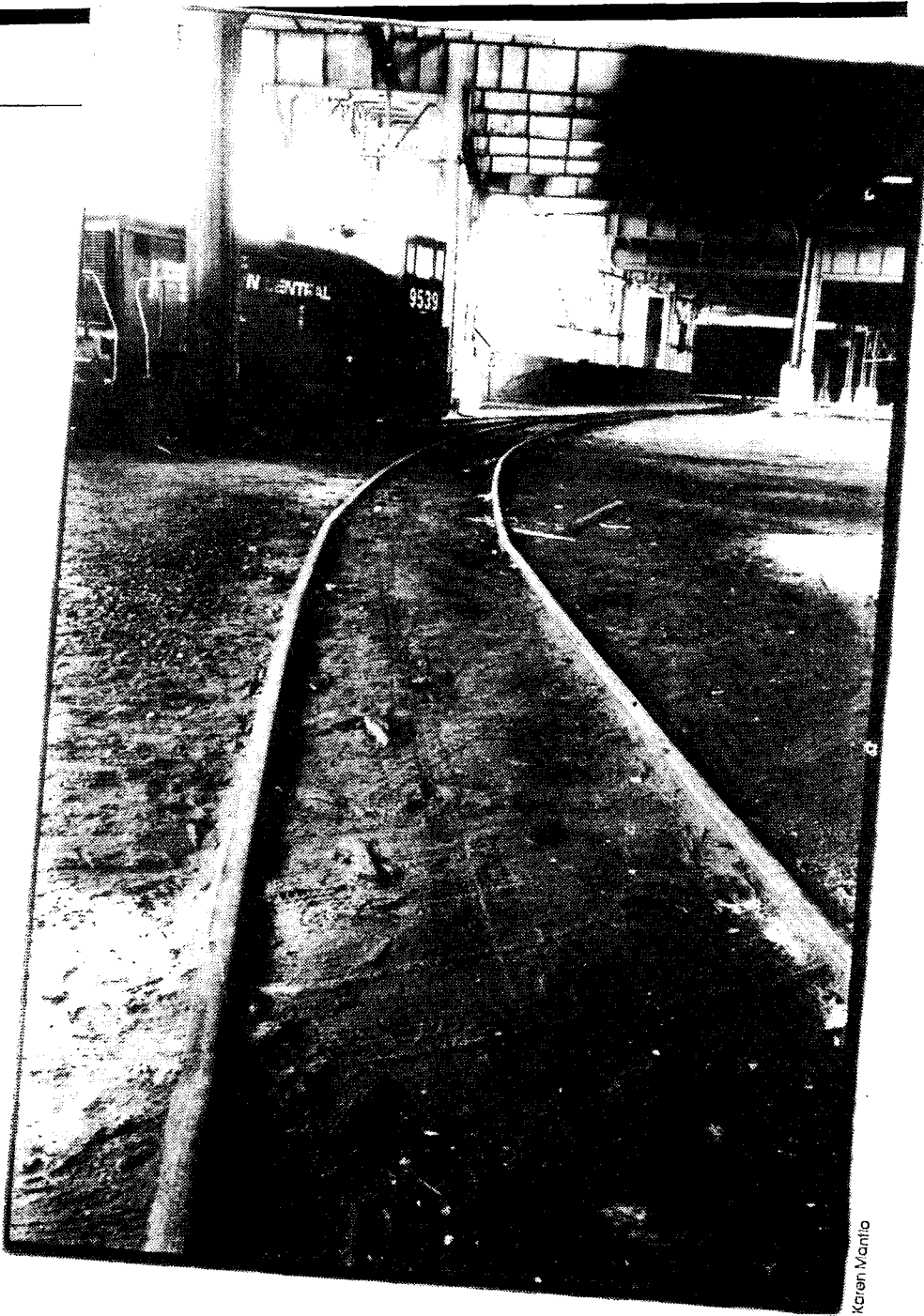
The Port Authority, one of the chief targets of Nadler's ire, had been set up in 1922 to ensure an efficient regional

transportation system, but has failed to execute its mandate. For example, Nadler is pressing for an economic and engineering study for a freight rail tunnel under New York harbor, eliminating the need for all freight to make a 250-mile round trip up to Albany to cross the Hudson River. The tunnel project was mandated in the PA's original enabling legislation 57 years ago.

This project has been strongly endorsed by the Chamber of Commerce; Anthony Gleidman, commissioner of the city's Department of Ports and Terminals; and John McHugh, general counsel of the Prudential (shipping) Lines and spokesman for the Ad Hoc Committee for Rail Freight and NYC Economic Recovery.

Daniel Curll, vice president for transportation of the Chamber of Commerce, estimates that the cost of bringing rail services back to first class levels "requires only millions rather than the billions of dollars," that similar highway improvements and construction would cost. The city's economic future is being jeopardized, Curll says, by the lack of modern piggy-back service facilities, direct rail access to New York City from New Jersey and points south and west, and equalized container freight rates in East Coast ports.

Nadler and Koppell are pressing for an immediate moratorium on the sale of freight yards in New York City, pending completion of a master plan for rail freight facilities and services in the metropolitan



Karen Martin

area. They have taken the State DOT and the Port Authority to task, charging them with "incompetence," and "non-planning," which would leave New York the only major city in the U.S. that could not be reached by "intermodal" (containerized) rail service, the most efficient means of shipping bulk freight.

"If we take advantage of this development (cheap intermodal rail freight), by saving our existing facilities...New York can emerge in the coming age of expensive energy in very good economic and competitive shape," Nadler says. This would be a refreshing contrast to the position in which the city now finds itself. ■

DISCRIMINATION

Suit against Bechtel bucks Weber

By Maria Taylor

SAN FRANCISCO

RACIAL DISCRIMINATION suits by nearly 2,000 black employees of the Bechtel Corporation could stretch the boundaries of affirmative action programs at the very time they are being threatened by the Bakke and Weber "reverse discrimination" decisions.

Bechtel, a privately-owned engineering and construction firm headquartered in San Francisco, faces two class action lawsuits seeking relief under Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act against discriminatory employment practices.

A suit brought by nearly 6,400 women employed by Bechtel went to court on May 29 charging, among other things, that the company is improving the lot of one group of employees at the expense of another. "The recurring theme of many of the employees we've talked to is that blacks are being passed over for promotion in favor of less experienced white women," John Houston Scott, attorney for the plaintiffs, said.

The second suit was originally filed in 1975 by Spotsel L. Boyd and three other blacks, and expanded in 1978 to include 405 present and 600 former employees.

An out-of-court settlement of Boyd in November 1978 that awarded damages but did not require Bechtel to improve its employment practices, was repudiated

by 23 percent of the plaintiffs and 48 percent of the current blacks employed at Bechtel.

In April, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People stepped in to get the suit reopened. NAACP lawyer Oliver Jones called the settlement a "sweetheart deal" based on raw statistics supplied by Bechtel.

The black employees allege that the company "fine tuned" the data before handing it to an outside expert for evaluation. In support of their effort to get the case reopened, the plaintiffs are gathering hundreds of affidavits and other evidence.

Bechtel attorney William Hoefs calls the personal testimony "subjective suspicions."

Bechtel employed Stanford Research Institute statistician Richard Singleton, an acknowledged expert, to conduct various analyses of the workforce based on figures supplied by the company.

Singleton's analysis "showed all the numbers for blacks and other employees were in reasonable relationship to each other and that Bechtel's affirmative action during the years covered by the lawsuit yielded positive results," said Bechtel's counsel Hoefs.

"We settled," said Mark Rudy, former counsel for the employees, "based on our analysis of the workforce. We noted that in the early '70s Bechtel was riding on the fact that there were not many black engineers available. But there was a grad-

ual improvement after 1975, and we were told by the judge that it would be harder to prove a pattern and practice of discrimination."

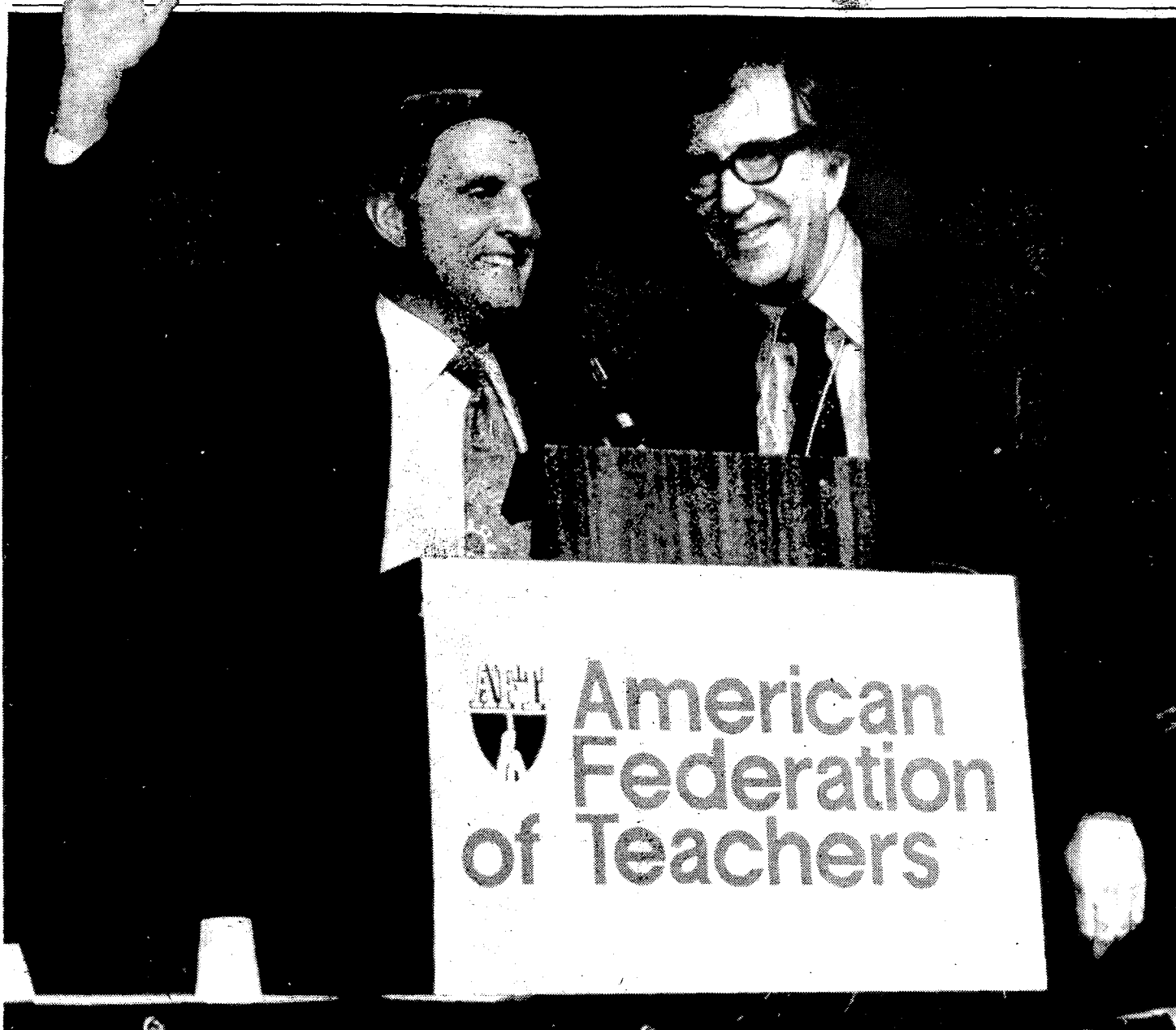
Under terms of the settlement, Bechtel would admit to no discrimination. Each of the four original plaintiffs was to be paid \$5,000 while \$120,000 was to be divided among the rest of the class action plaintiffs, and a further \$160,000 paid in legal fees. The settlement would also shut the door to further discrimination claims by an individual plaintiff.

"I am not aware of any other Title VII settlement as weak as this one," noted Scott. He pointed to recent settlements of \$35 million with General Electric, and \$3.5 million with the Bank of America, the terms of which included extensive affirmative action programs.

Scott said that the plaintiffs had attempted to make a better agreement with Bechtel but had so far been unsuccessful. If this suit goes to trial, this and the other Bechtel Title VII case in the court will be the only discrimination cases to go to court in northern California. All other companies, Scott said, have preferred to settle out of court. "Bechtel will spend more money fighting this case than they would if they settled, but they are fighting for the principle," Scott said. "But the NAACP has gone to the mat on this one. This case may go on for years." ■

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UNION LEADERSHIP



AFT President Albert Shanker (right, with Walter Mondale) is trying to shut out rank-and-file input.

Shanker finagling to wrest AFT control from teachers

By Lois Weiner

NEW YORK

FEW AMERICAN UNIONS HOLD annual conventions to allow the membership to make policy. One exception has been the American Federation of Teachers (AFT), the half-million member AFL-CIO affiliate that organizes school employees. AFT's by-laws still mandate that its conventions meet each year to set policy. Now Albert Shanker is trying to change this.

Shanker is president of New York City's United Federation of Teachers (UFT), a local of over 55,000 members, and a base he has used to dominate the state-wide teachers union and the national AFT. Shanker gained national prominence during the early '60s when the UFT organized, struck, and won stunning improvements in salary and teaching conditions, and later in the bitter struggle against advocates of the city's community control plan for the schools. Shanker's luster, tarnished by the battle against the union's former black and liberal allies during the community control fight, was restored in the eyes of many teacher activists when he negotiated a merger in New York between the AFT and its rival, the National Education Association, which spoke for teachers outside the city. The merger made AFT and Shanker labor's most "potent political force in New York," as Shanker himself has frequently noted.

Shanker's power within the AFT nationally and within New York state rests on his reputation and his efficient machine. But his stature within the AFL-CIO and his seat on its Executive Council have a more ideological source. Shanker and George Meany share a political philosophy configured by the Cold War. They support, virtually applaud, current military spending, in the name of anti-communism. They view labor as a special in-

terest group, like farmers. They proudly spurn the task of organizing "non-union" struggles for justice and equality because, they say, these divert unions' attention from their job of protecting their members. Moreover, they refuse to challenge the status quo at home, lest their liaison with the corporate-defense establishment be disrupted.

A common ideology binds Shanker to Meany and has increased Shanker's role in the AFL-CIO and national politics, but this course has weakened the AFT in protecting its membership and public education. Local leaders have come to expect little from the national AFT. Their demoralization is revealed by the absence of resolutions or debate about the harrowing economic insecurity teachers face: the fear of layoffs, the reality of declining real wages. Last year's convention never mentioned salary.

Paradoxically, Shanker has more control and less credibility than ever before. He faces no stable, significant opposition, in the AFT or nationally; yet all but his hard-core defenders acknowledge that he offers no solutions to the financial problems strangling public education. Shanker faces disaffection and hostility, but no sustained opposition other than that identified with the Communist Party, a grouping that has no chance of winning over teachers.

It is an indication of his weakness that Shanker has moved to silence the feeble voices of opposition at national conventions. Even the dim sound of dissent nationally would echo back to New York, where he has lost his reputation as an invincible leader. But it is also an indication of his strength that he would attempt to gut the convention after failing last year, with only a new, flimsy cover—a stacked questionnaire.

Last year the AFT Executive Council, handpicked by Shanker though ultimately elected by the convention, proposed a bylaw amendment to make conventions biennial rather than annual. The measure

aroused spontaneous furor intense enough to cow the Council. The proposal was dropped and never reached a vote on the convention floor, but Shanker warned that the issue was not dead.

This last March the national office mailed a questionnaire to past convention delegates requesting information to "improve the convention." An explanatory letter notes that the data will be used to "make the convention more interesting and more responsive," but careful scrutiny of the questions encourages a different interpretation.

Respondents are asked to rate convention activities—not on their importance for the union, but on the importance to the delegate personally. The first activity listed is the opening night reception and dance. Then delegates are queried if they had sufficient opportunity at the last convention to "have free time" but not if the

convention theme "Schools in Crisis" was adequately discussed.

Next, last year's proposal to make conventions biennial appears again. Possible convention sites are to be ranked; included are London, Toronto, and Mexico City. The Council tests the waters with another important proposal: should AFT elect its AFL-CIO delegates directly (by contention vote) or by a vote of the Executive Board? No reminder is made that conventions presently have this power.

Over the last three years, Shanker has successfully bureaucratized the convention through a series of rule changes, making it much more difficult for minority points of view to reach the convention floor. Before he consolidated his operation, conventions were lively, sparked by animated debate. Votes were even unpredictable on occasion. Five conventions heard fierce argument on the Vietnam war before the 1971 convention dealt Shanker one of his most serious defeats—the AFT condemned the war and called for an immediate withdrawal of American forces.

Today Shanker rarely sustains even a minor upset on the floor or in committee. The diminution of opposition has mirrored and encouraged his increased control. As local activists have been forced to spend more of their energy defending their colleagues against layoffs and cutbacks, they have lost confidence in the union's ability to effect the dramatic national changes necessary for school districts to solve their financial problems. Shanker has outlasted opposition figures like Carole Graves of the Newark, N.J., local, who dropped from national union politics after Newark was shaken by a long, bitter strike and a municipal fiscal crisis.

However, the drain of local battles only partly answers the question of why Shanker faces no substantial opposition, anywhere. To take him on, Shanker's foes must do what he does not—propose a way for the union to change the government's budgetary priorities and give more money to the schools. Shanker won't fight to cut the Pentagon's portion of the federal budget or to increase taxes of soaring corporate profits, yet the new money education desperately needs must come from these sources.

To unseat Shanker, an opposition has to inspire teachers' confidence in the union's ability to rouse labor and organize public support in a social movement to confront the corporations.

That conception of a union's role is even rarer in the American labor movement today than are annual conventions. To many AFT activists the job seems hopelessly unrealistic. But having no other solutions, they have simply stopped asking the national union for leadership. Their quiescence has emboldened Shanker to attempt to institutionalize their silence—and his power—by striking at the convention.

Lois Weiner is on leave from her teaching job in California to do graduate work at Teachers College, Columbia University. An AFT local officer for several years, she writes on labor and education.

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THE MILK-MOSCONE CASE

Gays outraged by Dan White verdict

By Marcelo Rodríguez

SAN FRANCISCO

THE WORD WAS OUT AT 6 P.M. Dan White, former member of San Francisco's Board of Supervisors, former police officer, former firefighter, and the assassin of two of San Francisco's most popular elected officials, had been convicted only of manslaughter and would serve less than eight years in prison for those crimes.

"He got away with murder! He got away with murder!" The chants of several thousand gay men and women could be heard for blocks surrounding the Civic Center. By 9 p.m. 6,000 people had congregated in front of City Hall to express their anger with the verdict. An hour later, the first window had been smashed and the bloodiest confrontation in history between the San Francisco police and the city's gay community had begun.

By 2 a.m. the next morning, hundreds of people had been injured, including 45 police officers and scores of media people, 12 patrol cars had been set ablaze, hundreds of windows had been broken, and hundreds of trash fires lined Market Street in the heart of San Francisco for several miles.

To the protesters, justice had not been served. Liberal Mayor George Moscone and gay Supervisor Harvey Milk had been shot and killed by White in their offices at City Hall on Nov. 27. Moscone had been a strong supporter of the gay community. Milk was the first and only openly gay elected official of San Francisco. Gays in the city viewed the assassinations as an attack on themselves. The lenient verdict was the final straw.

White's defense attorney Douglas Schmidt argued successfully that White had conducted the killings while suffering from "diminished capacity." On Nov. 22, White had resigned from his Supervisor seat, claiming that the \$9,600 salary was not enough to support his family.

After being assured by conservative political backers that he would have enough money if he continued his term, White approached Mayor Moscone asking to be reappointed to his seat. Members of the community that White repre-



Two participants wore non-violence T-shirts at the vigil in honor of Harvey Milk's birthday the night after the violent protest against the White verdict. Inset: Police cars burn during the protest.

sented intervened and asked Moscone not to reappoint White and the Mayor agreed, choosing instead a political liberal to replace White.

White was informed of Moscone's decision the night prior to the killings by a member of the local news media. The next day, he loaded the handgun he had not carried since his days as a police officer and took it with him to City Hall. Climbing through an open basement window in order to avoid the metal detectors at the doors of City Hall, White walked into Moscone's office where the Mayor personally told him he would not have his seat back. He fired four shots at Moscone and the popular Mayor was dead.

At this point, White walked out into an empty hallway and reloaded the pistol. A few minutes later, Milk, the most pro-

gressive member of the Board of Supervisors, had also been slain. White later turned himself in at police headquarters where he confessed to the killings under the questioning of his friend, homicide inspector Frank Falzon.

Harvey Milk was seen as more than just the representative of the gay community. He participated in their demonstrations and helped to organize them into a political force. He symbolized their freedom.

Dan White, on the other hand, personified everything Milk did not. He was often quoted as being disgusted by "the immorality of homosexuality." He often voted against gay issues while a member of the board.

The crowd in front of City Hall on the night of May 21 had no idea of what to expect. It was clear that there had been no preparation by either gay organizers or city officials to deal with the situation. There was no public address system to communicate with the demonstrators and to diffuse the explosive situation. Supervisor Harry Britt, the gay man who was appointed to replace Milk, tried to calm the crowd but was unable to gain their attention. Liberal Supervisor Carol Ruth Silver tried, but was taken to the hospital after being hit on the head by a flying object. No one could control the crowd.

When riot police tried to disperse the crowd, they were pushed back by a barrage of rocks, sticks, and even tear gas that one of the demonstrators managed to take from a patrol car. Soon, 12 police cars had been set on fire, their sirens wailing uncontrollably, while firemen, unable to get through the angry crowd, watched them burn.

About midnight, it seemed that the police had successfully dispersed and calmed the mob. But it was clear that the officers themselves were not prepared to let it go at that. Hundreds of police officers, clad in full riot gear, made their way to the predominantly gay Castro district of the city. Here, they taunted and provoked the citizens of the area, most of whom had not been at City Hall earlier. They burst into gay bars, swinging riot sticks indiscriminately, hurting many patrons, some of whom hid under tables and ran to the restrooms for protection. Yelling "Get out, you goddam queers," the police virtually destroyed several bars. Hundreds of gay men and women looked on in disbelief as frenzied police officers were destroying their neighborhood.

By the following morning, the situation was almost back to normal. Every window in the front of City Hall had been boarded up, the carcasses of burnt-out police vehicles had been removed, and work crews had swept the streets of shattered glass and debris.

WASHINGTON CONFERENCE

Church groups seek better ties with labor

By Charles Rooney

WASHINGTON

THE "NATIONAL CONFERENCE on Religion and Labor" held in Washington, D.C., May 16-18, was an important step in re-establishing working relationships between labor unions and progressive church sectors. About 100 participants, one-third from labor, the rest church professionals, met under the aegis of the Jesuit-sponsored Center of Concern. The meeting was a friendly getting-to-know-you affair, to establish according to organizer Joe Holland of the Center—better "networking" between the two sectors.

Church participants were mostly professional activists from the mainline denominations (Catholic, Presbyterian, Methodist, Reformed, Episcopal, and similar traditions), and mostly under 45. Holland noted the gap among church activists caused by the absence of those who reached adulthood during the Cold War, and identified as a prime goal the recovery of the history of church collabora-

tion in the unionizing struggles of the '30s.

Father George Higgins, a 60ish Catholic priest who has long represented the Catholic bishops' conference in labor affairs, remarked on the much broader involvement, though less intensive activity, of religiously-based activists supporting labor, compared with the '30s. He pointed out the difficulty of maintaining church support once the labor movement becomes institutionalized. Others noted another source of tension as the tendency of church people to see their constituency as the poorest and marginalized, while labor identifies with the organized.

Labor was represented by strong delegations from the United Automobile Workers (UAW) and the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU), plus representatives from the mineworkers, steelworkers, farmworkers, and a variety of other AFL unions.

Paul Mink of ACTWU called for a "dialogue of action," seeing the common task of labor support as the best basis for ongoing relationship. ACTWU has placed great reliance on organizing support through the churches in the J.P.

Stevens boycott, and sees that as a fruitful method of collaboration. From the religious side, Mike Russel of Southerners for Economic Justice (SEJ) described his group's approach as making itself available to serve the labor movement wherever SEJ is located.

A somewhat more exploratory attitude was recommended by Jerry Tucker of the UAW. The UAW feels that a major part of the crisis confronting labor is that it is being out-thought as well as being out-organized by the right, and that new forms of collaboration must be found.

There was great interest in recovering the history of religious-labor cooperation. John Ramsey, a former steelworkers' organizer now in his 70s, fascinated the participants with his account of the Religion and Labor Federation in the 1930s as an approach to mobilizing church support for the struggling union movement. He recounted the red-baiting and the organizing work by the companies which he countered by appealing to the clergymen's commitment to justice. A young minister, Joe Irwin, of the Ecumenical Coalition of Working People, described his work in Georgia organizing clergy support by exposing clergy on a personal level to unionists, which helped them to overcome stereotypes and recognize common commitments to justice.

Other grass-roots clergy have taken further steps toward a "workers' church." Gil Dawes, a Methodist minister from rural Iowa and a member of Christians

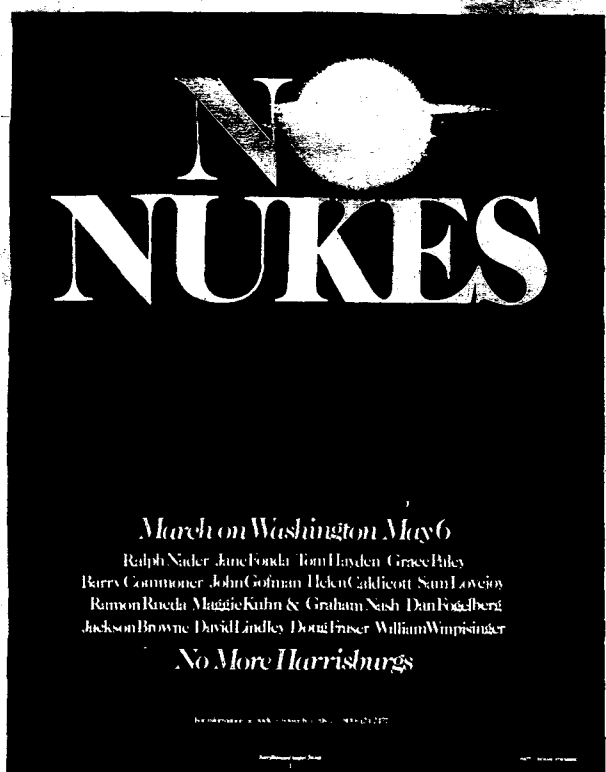
for Socialism (CFS), has developed a parish support group that regularly walks picket lines while reflecting on that and similar work through biblical study and sermons that interpret the Judeo-Christian tradition explicitly as a history of struggle for liberation, into which current struggles must be incorporated.

In spite of the evidence of a great outpouring of pro-labor work, both religious and labor participants perceived labor and its allies to be on the defensive. Bill Ryan, an operating engineer and president of the Boston Labor Guild, insisted that the churches must be mobilized immediately.

He also pointed out that the churches themselves have to match their rhetoric with action, since they are often the most resistant to organizing within their own institutions, with teachers, hospital workers, cemetery workers and office workers. He found wide agreement among the church-related participants, although Fr. Higgins suggested that the most resistant clergy may be the radical inner-city priests who feel that badly needed ghetto schools will not financially survive unionization.

The conference was unabashedly pro-labor, and when a speaker identified "most of us here [as] anti-capitalists" there were jokes and laughing to suggest that was an understatement.

"Let's face it, we're both [religion and labor] here because we're running scared," said Gil Dawes. "But let's not sell out to the corporate economy for a mess of pottage."



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Klan rises

Continued from page 3.
ring across the South.

In the meantime, many city officials have watched the crises in Decatur and elsewhere with concern, fearful that the controversial arrest of a black in their area might catch the eye of black activists. Then the Klan, in the tradition of Southern vigilantism and direct action, would move in.

"We are quite often accused of being vigilantes," Wilkinson says. "In some respects we are. We have been known to enforce the law or cause the law to be enforced when police would not enforce it. We don't view vigilantism as a bad thing...

"These times, we have cases where many of the mayors, governors, and even some chiefs of police will, rather than enforce the law, try to take the easy way out and look the other way. When this kind of thing becomes intolerable, we step in."

Wilkinson says this Klan tactic has swelled its ranks with police officers, but its acceptance has hardly been universal.

"The NAACP sticks pretty close to the courts," says one Alabama sheriff. "That's the reason they win things. Any organization that takes things into their own hands ought to be stopped."

In very few Southern towns are officials willing to give the Klan a blank check with which to operate. In Selma, Mayor Joe Smitherman read Klan members the riot act well before their sidewalk parade and rally.

"We don't wish 'em back here. We don't want 'em back here," Smitherman said recently. "We feel like Selma has had its share of outside people trying to use Selma's name for publicity purposes. This is all the Klan is doing. All they can do is worsen a situation that has vastly improved since the 1960s.... They are not going to play their little shenanigans down here."

Steve Suits, executive director of the Southern Regional Council, the Atlanta-based civil rights research organization, says: "I think the most powerful fact is that a political climate and some official indifference allow the Klan to do what they are doing in north Alabama. Officials even turn their eyes away from those acts of violence that cause federal indictments. This only happens when accommodation had not been reached between black and white folks. It's a sad story, I think."

It's been 25 years since segregation in public schools was outlawed by the U.S. Supreme Court. But in many areas of the South, a much shorter period of time has passed since major changes took place. In others, the winds of change were more akin to a faint breeze. In these areas, the flame of racist bigotry has not been snuffed out; fanned by memories of the past and reaction to the present, it flickers every now and then.

Too much has happened for the old ways to return. Blacks who now defy the Klan won't even countenance such a possibility.

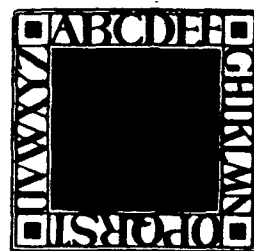
"There may be some things we may not get," says Rev. John Nettles, SCLC's Alabama coordinator, "but we're not going back.... We may die, but there will be no going back."

The latest rise of the Klan and the increasing instances of Klan/black conflict may ensure continued federal government intervention in Southern localities.

Federal vigilance may waver, however, if economic and energy-related issues continue to demand more attention. This possibility disturbs Ozell Sutton, who fears a trend similar to what happened in the post-Civil War South 100 years ago.

"When the federal government withdrew its troops and its commitment to the rights of minorities, then the Klan...moved to fill that void with a repressive era. Now I see the same kind of void being created as we move into an economic crunch and the attention of the nation is being turned more to inflation and other issues than concern for the rights of minorities."

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IN THE WORLD

CANADA

"Joe Who" wins a bare plurality

By Doug Smith

WINNIPEG, MANITOBA

WE'VE GOT TO GET Trudeau out." That sentiment more than almost any other set the tone for much of the federal election in English-speaking Canada. At the same time, the voters in Quebec were motivated by an equally strong desire to keep the Conservatives out of office.

As a result, the Progressive Conservatives, under Joe Clark, won 134 seats in English-speaking Canada, while the Liberals took 47 there. In the province of Quebec, the Liberals won 67 and the Tories took only two.

Although Conservative leader Joe Clark did not win a majority of seats (the New Democratic Party (NDP) have 26 and the Social Credit 54), Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau has resigned.

Trudeau came to power 11 years ago, promising a "Just Society." He was a somewhat mysterious and exciting politician who was swept into office on a tide of Trudeaumania. His government has been beset by scandals ranging from ministers forging names on abortion applications to widespread violation of civil liberties. As well, the Canadian economy is in increasingly bad shape as unemployment and inflation edge towards double digits. In the face of the economic problems in the country and the success of the Parti Quebecois in Quebec, it appeared Trudeau had failed at most of what he attempted.

Joe Clark has been the butt of media criticism ever since he won the party leadership as a dark horse candidate three years ago. At that time, a Toronto newspaper ran the headline "Joe Who" and it was a tag that he found hard to shake. A round-the-world trip that Clark took earlier in the year nearly spelled the end to his career as he kept losing his baggage and once came close to walking into a bayonet.

As a result, the Conservative party organizers ran a very tightly controlled campaign and did their best to make sure that Clark had as few chances as possible to make any public gaffes.

Election results reflect a campaign devoid of issues with both sides in the middle, not a shift to the right as claimed.

Some commentators have said the election of a federal Conservative government indicates a shift to the right in Canadian politics. This feeling is not fully borne out by the election results. The campaign itself was largely devoid of issues—the Liberals said the issue was leadership and the Tories claimed it was the need for a change.

In many ways the Liberals tried to run to the right of the Conservatives—in the past year they have initiated a strict restraint policy which saw the end of a number of social programs. Trudeau has also adopted a tough stance with both labor and provincial governments—most of which are headed by Tories.

The major plank in the Tory platform was Clark's mortgage deductibility plan. This would allow homeowners to deduct the cost of their mortgage from their income tax. A sop to the middle class and those that aspire to it—it was the key to the Tory victories in urban southern Ontario.

The future of Quebec will be a thorny question for Clark. With hardly any representatives from the province, Clark will have trouble dealing with premier Rene Levesque, who plans to hold a referendum on some form of separation in the next year.

In the past year, Clark's position on Quebec has vacillated considerably. At one point he seemed to say that he would negotiate with Quebec after a successful referendum, but during the campaign he



Prime Minister-elect Joe Clark addresses a fundraising gathering in Halifax April 29. His wife, Maureen McTeer, is below.

said that no province can vote its way out of the country. He said that he would not accept the results of a referendum in Quebec, even if they were clearly in favor of separation. When pressed on whether or not he would use force of arms to keep Quebec in the country, Clark said the rule of law would be maintained.

The election was something of a disappointment for the NDP. They had counted on making big gains in Ontario, but the Tory mortgage plan seems to have cut them down. Party leader Ed Broadbent ran a fairly impressive campaign, making daily policy statements. It was the first NDP campaign where the leader could afford his own jet and the first with national television advertising.

The big push on the part of the Canadian Labour Congress did not translate into as many seats in Eastern Canada as had been counted on. In the West the party fared much better, and in the province of Manitoba, which has had one of the most reactionary Conservative governments in the country for the past two years, the NDP increased from two to five seats. It was at least one case where the people indicated that, having tried right-wing government, they didn't like it.

It is likely that there will be another election within a year or so, probably after Quebec holds its referendum. Clark is likely to say the issue is national unity and that he needs a majority government to deal with the province of Quebec. ■

SOUTH AFRICA

New labor reforms don't challenge apartheid

By Our South Africa Correspondent

THERE HAS BEEN MUCH HOOP in the West over recent changes in the South African labor and manpower regulations regarding blacks. The government has accepted the reports of two commissions which are said to herald a "new era" in which "apartheid is eroding." In fact, the so-called reforms are nothing more than sophisticated efforts to adjust to recent changes in the South African economic reality. In short, a crude and increasingly outmoded system of control of black labor is to be replaced by a clever and hopefully more profitable one.

One of South Africa's growing problems is illustrated by a story involving Van der Merwe, the Afrikaner Everyman. *Continued on page 10.*

And they don't last long, either

The ruling party of South Africa last week rescinded their approval of a plan to liberalize labor laws for black workers after angry protests by white workers who saw the new proposals as "treason against the white worker."

Labor laws introduced in Parliament will sharply curtail union rights reform planned by the government only two weeks ago.

The new laws "constitute a substantial blow to the unregistered union movement and a retraction of many of the rights enjoyed by black workers under the previous dispensation," Alec Erwin, the white general secretary of the mainly black Federation of South African Trade Unions.

The new bill rejected the earlier plan for racially mixed unions and excluded from union membership all those who do not live in the cities and must commute or live away from their homes, about 80 percent of the 27 unregistered lack unions.

It was apparent that the government had caved in to pressure from white workers, especially miners, who feared that the new proposals, that applied only to urban workers, would spread to the mines and eventually overturn the policy of apartheid, which protects the privileged position of the 4.4 million white minority in this nation of 26 million.

Erwin said that 95 percent of the workers in his union would lose representa-

tion under the new restrictive law.

The planned liberalization of labor laws for blacks resulted from a two-year study of South Africa's 30-year-old laws that prevented blacks from joining unions or engaging in collective bargaining.

The Wiehahn Commission, appointed by the government two years ago, released a report May 1, that proposed that laws be overhauled to recognize black unions and permit some collective bargaining. As our South African correspondent indicates in the accompanying story, the report was long overdue and did not reflect changing attitudes toward blacks but rather changing economic conditions. ■

S. Africa

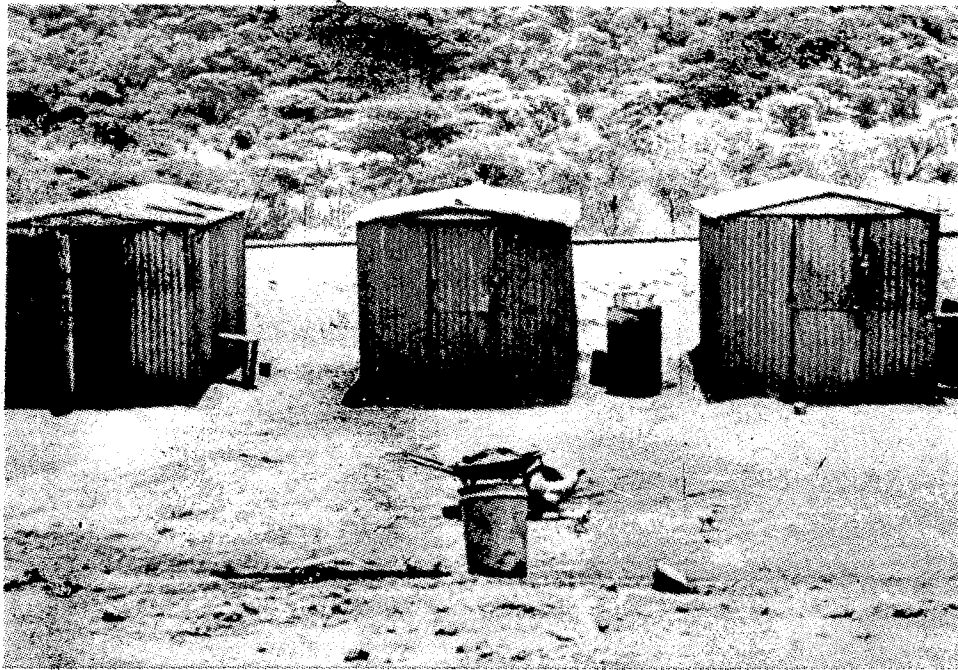
Continued from page 9.

who is the butt of countless jokes using his obtuseness to make humorous ripostes against peculiar features of life here. Van is visiting Scotland and sees five Scotsmen wrestling a telephone pole into a freshly dug hole. "Ag, man," he says, "what a waste of manpower. Give me 20 blacks and I could do that job myself."

Huge gangs of black laborers supervised by one of Van der Merwe's counterparts are a common feature of South African life—and emblematic of the enormous inefficiency and shockingly low productivity of many sectors of the economy. But until fairly recently, the low wages paid to blacks more than offset the lack of productivity. Skilled work was performed by whites, whose wages were kept at artificially high levels by the "Color Bar," which excluded blacks from "white jobs."

In the economic boom of the '60s, however, whites moved upward in the economies, the government turned a blind eye as blacks were promoted into the new positions. But productivity, particularly in manufacturing, still lagged behind. Many blacks were migrant workers, forced by law to return regularly to the rural Bantustans to re-apply for work from there. Others did live permanently in the "white" urban areas, but with only flimsy guarantees that they could not be uprooted, and they often were not allowed to bring their families to live with them. In neither case did the conditions exist for a stable, settled work force on which a rise in productivity would depend, and some businessmen began clamoring for change.

Another problem emerged in the early '70s with an enormous upswing in black labor activism. During the '60s, the number of blacks involved in strikes was fewer than 2,000 a year, but in early 1973, more than 100,000 workers in Durban, the third largest city, staged a massive, non-violent walkout for higher wages. One of the



Black railway workers live in these tin shacks near Otjiwarongo.

causes of the strike, it was later agreed, was the lack of mechanisms to communicate worker grievances to management. Some government and business leaders began to call for moderate black unions to stabilize and rationalize the work force. Furthermore, installing moderate unions now would help block possible inroads by more militant unions in the future.

A response to changing times.

Two government commissions, chaired by prominent academics, are a response to these problems posed by a changing South Africa. The Riekert commission on manpower is an effort to encourage the formation of the stable work force that the manufacturing sector wants, and the Wiehahn labor commission will attempt to insure that such a work force is organized in moderate, responsible unions.

Riekert will mean a definite improvement in some conditions for the 1.5 million blacks who reside legally in "white" urban areas. These people, sometimes called "Sections Tenners" after the provision of the law that grants them residence rights, will have their right to remain greatly strengthened, and those who until the present have been forced to live alone will be allowed to bring their fam-

ilies to stay with them. They already have been granted the right to obtain 99-year leaseholds on their homes in Soweto and other urban townships. No longer will this group have to fear being shipped back to the Bantustans.

The big losers are the blacks who live in the Bantustans (roughly half the black population, and growing), and the migrant laborers (another two million people) who work in the "white areas" on a temporary basis. Influx control will be stiffened and the onus for its enforcement shifted to the employers, who will pay large fines (and possibly go to prison) for hiring other than Section Tenners or qualified migrants. The undetermined but large number of blacks presently working illegally in the "white areas" will be forced back into the desperate poverty of the Bantustans, to join the stream of legal migrant laborers if they can, or to starve if they cannot.

The Wiehahn commission recommended that the remaining vestiges of the Color Bar (which was almost a dead letter anyway) be eliminated and that the government recognize and register black unions, subject to strict controls and monitoring. (Black unions, representing less than 1 percent of the black work force, already

exist, but, as they are unregistered, any contracts they sign have no legal standing.)

Rules to favor parallel unions.

The new regulations, which the government will implement slowly, appear impartial, but in practice they will favor moderate "parallel" unions, most of which operate under the control of the white dominated Trade Union Council of South Africa. The more militant, independent unions may be shut out in the cold entirely.

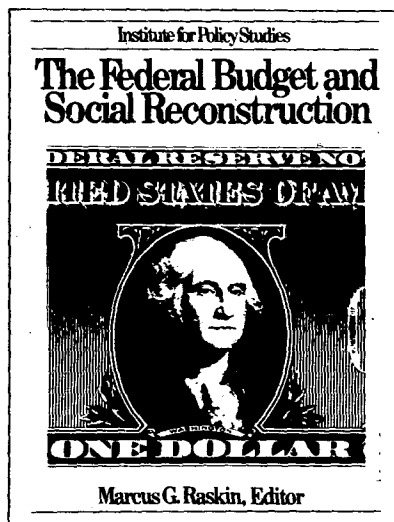
plained, "We could be worse off after Wiehahn than we are today." The parallel unions have already started raiding plants where the independents are strong.

Furthermore, the government turned down the commission's recommendation that black migrant workers be granted union rights. Some of the migrants are militant members of the unregistered black unions, one of which says the ban on migrants will reduce its membership from 10,000 to 2,000.

The government will move slowly with these limited reforms to avoid alienating a sector of the white working class, centered in the far-right Mine Workers Union, for which the Color Bar still matters. But the majority of white workers, who are, more precisely, supervisors, have moved upward enough to be undisturbed by the proposed changes.

Riekert and Wiehahn together are designed to create a "labor aristocracy" in the urban areas, both for economic reasons and to improve the chances for general stability. The government is mindful that the 1976-77 uprising occurred in Soweto and other urban townships, and it intends to grease those squeaky wheels. The co-optation scheme may not work: urban black leaders have already denounced it. But even if it placates some discontent, the growing resentment of the sullen, unemployed millions in the Bantustans—who are now denied any access to the relatively good life in the cities, other than as temporary migrants—is a heavy price to pay. After all, the apartheid regime should remember that the continuing insurgency in neighboring Zimbabwe draws its major support from the rural areas.

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TURKEY

Ecevit regime bites the IMF's bullet

By Sheffield Coryell

WITH THE COLLAPSE OF the monarchy in Iran, the potentially explosive situation in neighboring Turkey—the only NATO member with borders along the Soviet Union—has attracted the keen interest of the Pentagon and the *New York Times*. Both would apparently like to see this predominantly Moslem and 60 percent agricultural nation of 42 million become once again the key strategic outpost of the West.

In the early post-war period, the Turkish government—converted to a kind of American “protectorate” by the Truman Doctrine—sent 5,000 soldiers to fight in Korea, rattled its sword against the outburst of Arab nationalism in the Middle East, and served as an “unsinkable aircraft carrier” for the U.S.

At their summit meeting in Jamaica this January, the “Big Four” included the “Turkish question” in their agenda and decided that a joint financial effort of the West was needed to help rescue Turkey from its current economic mess.

The problems of Turkey's mixed economy—in which an extensive state-owned sector co-exists with powerful private trusts, domestic and foreign—are admittedly enormous. They are, according to Prime Minister Bulent Ecevit—recently admitted as a full-fledged member of the Socialist International—the “heavy legacy” of the succession of right-wing governments that preceded his own attempt to set the country's house in order.

The annual inflation rate is now nearly 60 percent. About 20 percent of the work force is unemployed in a country where rapid and chaotic industrialization and urbanization have been accompanied by intensive rural exodus and the growth of vast, sprawling shanty-towns outside every city.

At the same time, the economy is chronically and hopelessly indebted to foreign, mainly American, bank. The balance of payments deficit is catastrophic and the shortage of foreign currency is such that the country can no longer pay for the most urgent imports. To save energy, electricity is shut off for several hours each day in cities all over the country.

Since he returned to power as Prime Minister at the beginning of January 1978, Ecevit—leader of the ruling center-left



In a shanty town on the outskirts of Istanbul, an old woman still wears the traditional village headgear, while the children are completely citified.

Republican People's Party and the man who, in a previous stint as Prime Minister, ordered Turkish troops into Cyprus after the military coup there—has been unable to cope effectively with these problems, despite his populist promises.

“Economic recovery package.”

Now Ecevit has announced the details of his long-awaited “economic recovery package”—his second in 14 months. As expected, it is an austerity program, including cuts in government spending, inducements to invest, incentives to increase exports and to encourage savings. As usual, the “package” was preceded by a series of drastic price hikes—a 90 percent increase for gasoline and oil products, plus sharp increases for other vital producers' and consumers' goods.

In the process of drawing up his “recovery program,” Ecevit succeeded in bringing around the same table—for the first time in the history of the Turkish Republic—representatives of the main em-

ployers' associations and those of the country's two trade union federations, the conservative *Turk-Is* and the socialist-oriented DISK, with about half as many members but growing fast.

Once made public, the plan was sharply criticized as “empty and meaningless” by the conservative opposition Justice Party, headed by Ecevit's predecessor, Suleyman Demirel.

The left, mainly the Turkish Workers' Party, influential in several unions but without representation in Parliament, denounced Ecevit's “concessions to the demands of big business” and his “complete acceptance of the conditions imposed by the International Monetary Fund.”

Actually, the IMF's suggested conditions for a new and substantial loan included—in addition to austerity measures even more stringent than those implied by Ecevit's program—a drastic devaluation of the Turkish lira, which Ecevit (along with many economists and labor leaders) has been resisting on the grounds that it would brake economic growth and provoke further inflation. But it is considered likely in Ankara that Ecevit and the IMF will eventually reach a compromise and that the loans will be forthcoming.

IMF approval is important because it will be the green light for other loans as well. The OECD has also just recently agreed to the principle of a \$400 million loan—less than what the Turks requested, but better than nothing. The idea is to “save Turkey for the West” by preventing an internal social explosion with unpredictable results.

This concern is not unrealistic. The sharp economic crisis Turkey is experiencing at present is accompanied by an equally dangerous political crisis, marked by continuous and professionally-executed acts of violence against leftist militants, intellectuals—or just people—by the well-armed and well-trained “commandos” of the far-right organization called the “Nationalist Movement Party.”

This neo-fascist group mixes Islamic fanaticism with ultra-nationalism and has some 16 deputies in Parliament. It maintains an extensive network of “cultural centers” and runs several military training camps. It is widely rumored to be, or to have been, heavily financed by the CIA as well as by various Turkish landlords and business interests. Most of its dirty work, though, is carried out by desperate unemployed workers or “idealistic” students.

These neo-fascists managed to penetrate deeply into the police, armed forces

and the administration generally during the period when the organization's leader, retired Col. Turkes, was the country's vice-president under the conservative government of Suleyman Demirel who preceded Ecevit as Prime Minister.

In over a year as Prime Minister, Ecevit has been unable to purge these “nationalists” from key posts or even to bring more than a few underlings to court for their political crimes, leaving the leaders, like Col. Turkes himself, undisturbed. The violence reached an unprecedented crescendo when the “commandos” carried out a horrible pogrom in the eastern city of Kahramanmaraş in December, killing over 100 people, mainly Kurds who belong, for the most part, to the minority Moslem sect of Alevis in a country where the majority are Sunnis.

There is method in this homicidal madness. The obvious aim of Turkes and his followers is to “destabilize” Ecevit's already shaky government by creating a situation of chaos and confusion that would enable the army to step in and impose an “acceptable” regime—as it did in 1960 and then again in 1971.

This strategy seemed on the verge of success when Ecevit was forced by the massacre at Kahramanmaraş to proclaim martial law in 13 provinces. He thereby put the army in charge of enforcing “law and order,” while trying to keep overall command of the situation.

Since that time, there was a brief period of relative calm, but the murders soon began again, the most prominent recent victim being Adbi Ipekci, the influential editor of the liberal, mass circulation daily, *Milliyet*, who was shot in the center of Istanbul on Feb. 1.

Meanwhile, the military tribunals have been condemning more leftists than anyone else, although the overwhelming bulk of the violence comes from the right. And some 16 left-wing newspapers have just been forced to suspend publication.

So it appears that, even if Ecevit is not overthrown by an army coup, he may remain in power only at the price of turning his back on his former allies of the left and jettisoning most of the ambitious program of structural reforms he promised when he became Prime Minister in January 1978.

With the blessing of the IMF and the Carter administration—which scored a success in persuading Congress last autumn to finally lift the arms embargo—Ecevit may end up becoming the “Soares of Turkey,” in the hope of escaping the fate of an Allende.

U.S. Senate OKs aid

Prime Minister Bulent Ecevit succeeded in his arm-twisting last week when the U.S. Senate voted 64-32 to convert a \$50 million military loan to Turkey into a grant.

Ecevit demanded, earlier in May, additional aid in return for allowing the U.S. to continue intelligence outposts in Turkey. Ecevit also said he would not allow American U-2 planes to fly over Turkish territory to monitor Russian compliance with the SALT II treaty unless the Soviet Union approved.

The gift was only a small part of the package that President Carter had requested earlier for Turkey. He had asked for an additional \$100 million in economic grants that the Congress has, so far, resisted. That request was in addition to \$227.5 million Congress provided the Ankara government in fiscal 1979 and \$301.2 million that Carter has requested for fiscal 1980. Should the Congress vote the additional aid, Turkey will become the third biggest recipient of U.S. foreign aid, after Israel and Egypt.

The appropriation still has a long way to go before it is approved, however, because sentiment against Turkey is much stronger in the House than in the Senate. An effort by IN THESE TIMES to

discover when the House will act on the President's request received only a laugh by an administrative assistant. It still has not cleared the subcommittee.

The Senate vote represented a substantial victory for President Carter, who lobbied for the special military aid, and for Senate Majority Leader Robert C. Byrd (D-WV) who actively pushed it.

In spite of Ecevit's demands, Byrd said the grant aid to Turkey was “vital, vital not only from the standpoint of Turkey, but also from the standpoint of our own ultimate security interests, vital from the standpoint of the security interests of Greece, and vital from the standpoint of the security interests of our friends in the Middle East.”

Byrd said the grant aid “is the direct, the quickest, and the most efficient way to assist Turkey to regain some of the ground that is lost” during the U.S. arms embargo.

Henry Bellmon (R-OK), emphasized the symbolic importance of the aid.

“Symbols are important, especially when the situation is critical,” he said. “In my opinion, the situation in Turkey is approaching the critical point.”

—John Felton

The Anti-Nuclear



This presentation was excerpted from *THE ANTI-NUCLEAR HANDBOOK*, text by Stephen Croall, illustrations by Kaianders (Pantheon Books, \$2.95). In 133 pages, Croall and Kaianders summarize the history of the nuclear industry, the operation of a nuclear reactor, dangers of radioactivity, problems with waste storage and sabotage, and the history and options of the anti-nuclear movement.

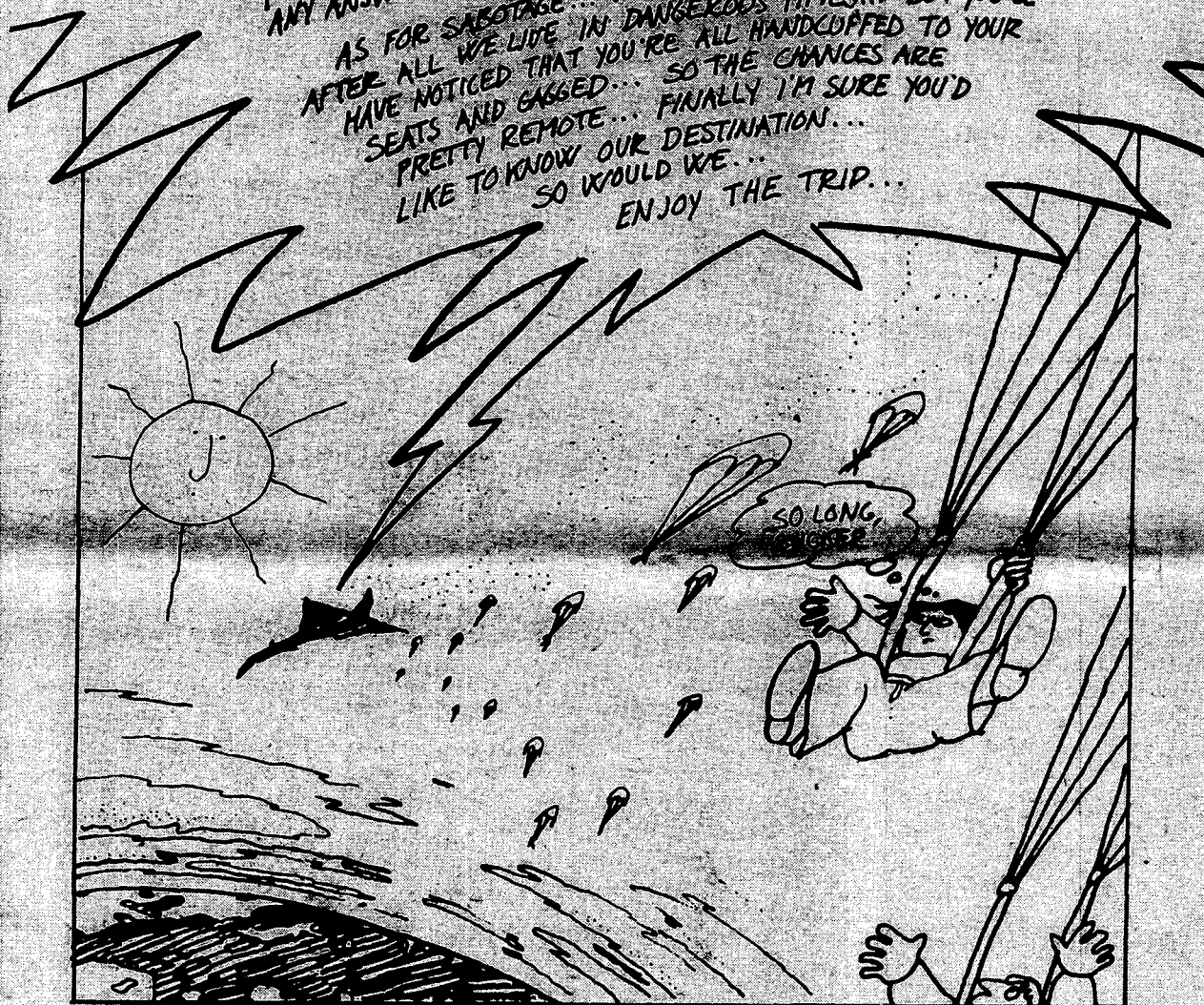
Anti-nuke Tragicomics

THIS IS YOUR CAPTAIN SPEAKING...

GOOD AFTERNOON AND WELCOME ABOARD ATOMIC AIRWAYS.

WE ONLY HAVE FUEL FOR THE EARLY STAGES OF THIS FLIGHT, BUT WE THINK WE CAN SOLVE THAT EN ROUTE... THE OTHER SAFETY PROBLEMS MAY ALSO BE SORTED OUT IN TIME... OUR TECHNICAL BOYS HAVE BEEN WORKING ON THEM FOR 30 YEARS, AND THEY'LL LET US KNOW IF THEY COME UP WITH ANY ANSWERS...

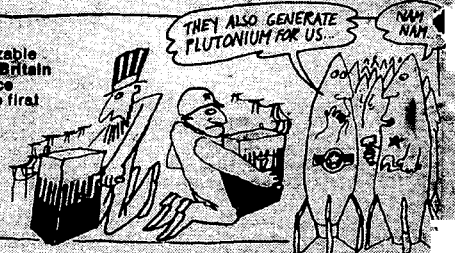
AS FOR SABOTAGE... WELL IT'S ALWAYS A POSSIBILITY... AFTER ALL WE LIVE IN DANGEROUS TIMES... BUT YOU'LL HAVE NOTICED THAT YOU'RE ALL HANDCUFFED TO YOUR SEATS AND GAGGED... SO THE CHANCES ARE PRETTY REMOTE... FINALLY I'M SURE YOU'D LIKE TO KNOW OUR DESTINATION... SO WOULD WE... ENJOY THE TRIP...



Canada was the first country to concentrate on civil nuclear programs... and, in 1952, it was the first to play host to a major accident. A research reactor at Chalk River exploded but no one was killed so no one got excited...



Sam & Ivan boasted sizable reactors by 1954... but Britain (Calder Hall) and France (Marcoule) claimed the first commercial nukes in 1956, generating electricity to the public...



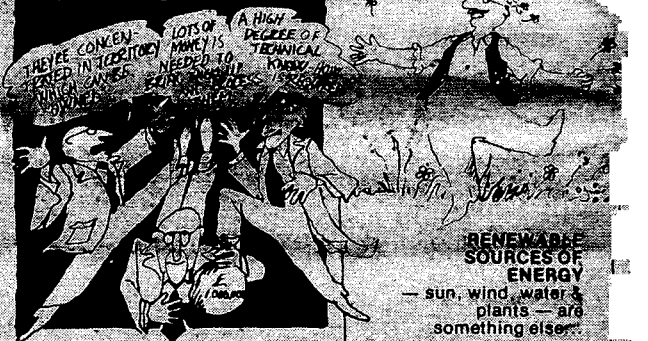
I SEEM TO HAVE STARTED SOMETHING... THAT I CAN'T STOP... IAEA

In the same year the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) was set up in Vienna. It aimed to promote the spread of nuclear power and prevent the spread of nuclear weapons materials. Like teaching a child to walk then ordering it not to...

The sun spent 600 million years fossilizing marine life into oil and trees into coal... and at the rate we're going today they'll be used up within the next few hundred years...

NON-RENEWABLE SOURCES OF ENERGY

Like coal, oil and natural gas — and uranium, the raw material for nuclear power — have certain things in common that appeal to ruling minorities.



IT'S NOT EASY TO CORNER THE MARKET IN SUNSHINE...

They're almost impossible to exhaust... they're available in many parts of many countries... and they're potentially easier and cheaper to harness...

OR CENTRALIZE WIND...

Far too democratic for some...

AND THAT GREY OLD KREMLIN CROWD ISN'T MUCH OF AN INSPIRATION!

The Soviet experiment went off the rails long ago... today it's more or less a parody of socialism... a centralized, authoritarian, bureaucratic and energy-hungry society riddled with nukes...



HELL NO, WE WON'T GLOW...

Opponents of nuclear power come in many shapes and sizes...

They're more or less agreed on the dangers of nuclear technology and on the advantages of the soft energy path... but they adopt widely differing approaches to the problem... with varying degrees of success...

AS A SPECIES, ANTI-NUKERS FIRST CROPPED UP IN THE UNITED STATES IN THE EARLY 1960s. BY THE LATE 1970s THEY HAD SPREAD EN MASSE TO WESTERN EUROPE, JAPAN AND AUSTRALIA.



Once, it was little more than a technical discussion between experts for the benefit of the politicians...

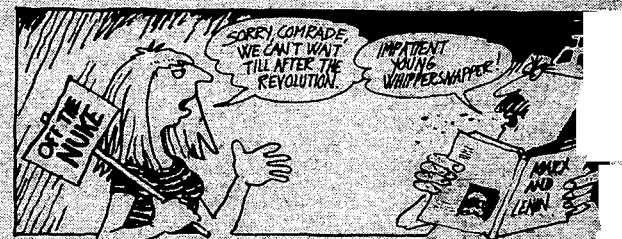
Now, the energy debate has become a matter for the general public, not just the decision-makers... and the citizenry isn't taking too kindly to being force-fed with nukes...

ALMELO NETHERLANDS 30,000 PROTEST	MONTALTO ITALY 10,000 PROTEST
MALVILLE FRANCE 50,000 PROTEST	BILBAO SPAIN 150,000 PROTEST
MELBOURNE AUSTRALIA 20,000 PROTEST	BROKDORT WEST GERMANY 40,000 PROTEST
SEABROOK UNITED STATES 1,500 ARRESTED!	LONDON ENGLAND 10,000 PROTEST

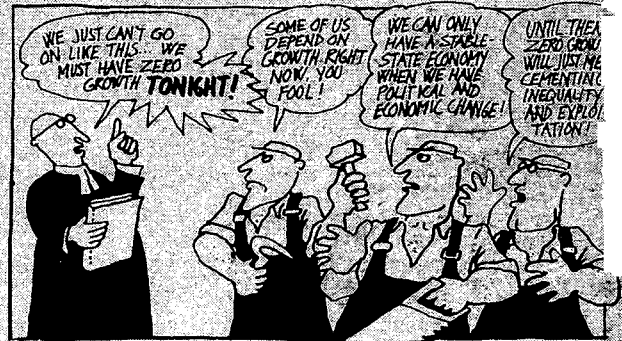
THE ECOLOGISTS POINTED THE WAY...

Environment groups launched the anti-nuke movement and have long been its vanguard... they were the first to spell out the dangers of a hard energy future... to organize resistance... and to formulate alternatives...

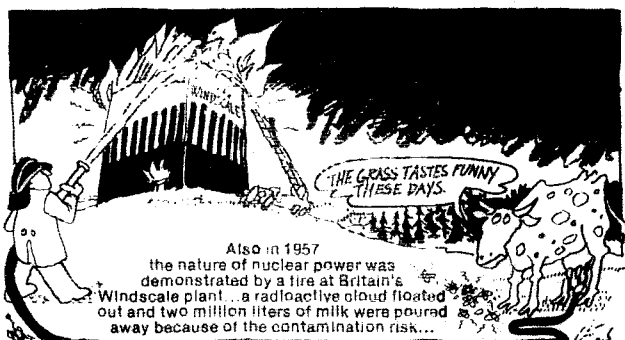
Adding an ecological dimension to the class struggle, radical environmentalists offered a fresh solution to the ravages of capitalism... but they also annoyed many dogged Marxists who kept insisting that technology was neutral...



BUT SOME ECOLOGISTS LOST THEIR WAY...

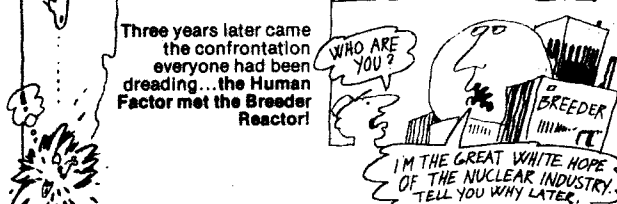
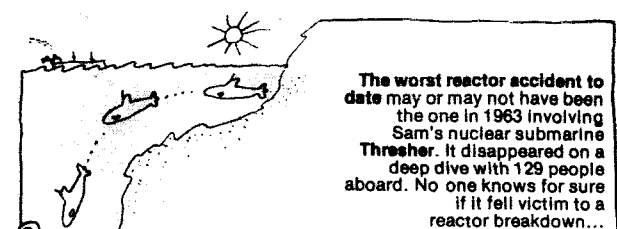
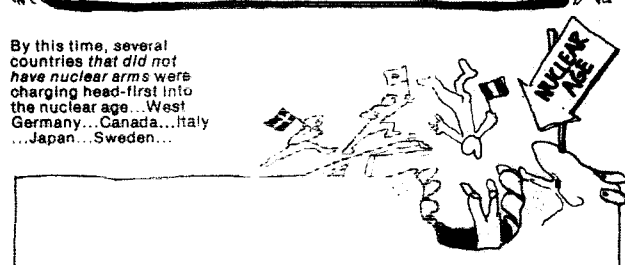


Sam took a short-cut...In 1957 he called home the nuclear-powered submarine *Nautilus*, stole its reactor and set up the first US nuclear power station at Philadelphia...

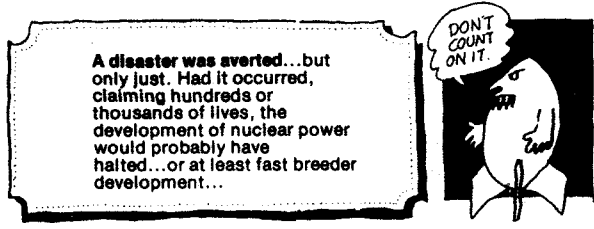


Also in 1957 the nature of nuclear power was demonstrated by a fire at Britain's Windscale plant...a radioactive cloud floated out and two million liters of milk were poured away because of the contamination risk...

By this time, several countries that did not have nuclear arms were charging head-first into the nuclear age...West Germany...Canada...Italy...Japan...Sweden...



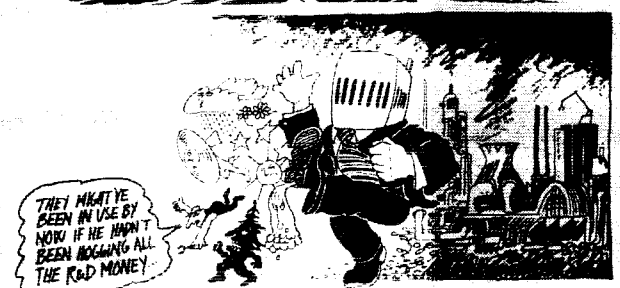
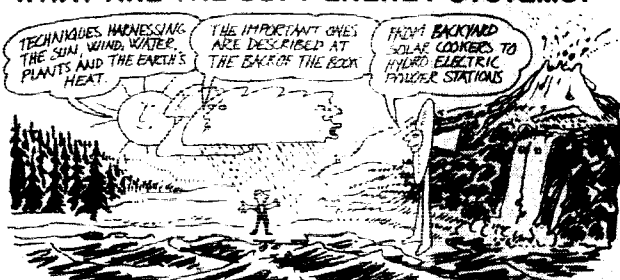
They crossed paths at the Enrico Fermi experimental plant outside Detroit. Someone forgot to fasten a bit of metal in the reactor core; it caused part of the fuel to melt and orders went out to prepare for the evacuation of the city...



Instead, the second half of the 1960s brought an upswing in sales. Nuclear electricity was now looking profitable so Sam's heavies decided it was time to muscle in...



WHAT ARE THE SOFT ENERGY SYSTEMS?

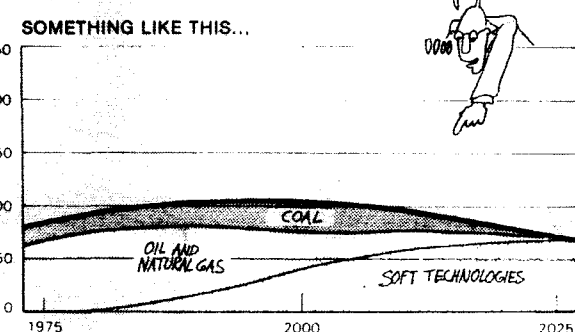


EXERCISE IN DOUBLE MORALITY



THE FOSSIL-FUEL BRIDGE...

To get to the stage where we can live on our energy income we'll have to keep drawing on our energy savings a while longer...half a century or more in the West...much less in the Third World...



Phasing out oil and natural gas means a brief increase in the use of coal, which is 25 times as plentiful. It has mainly been used to produce electricity and steel so far...but coal technology is undergoing a bit of a revolution these days and looks likely to replace oil in many respects...



A lasting solution of the resources problem requires careful planning of energy use, work patterns and products...social equality requires humanized production under workers' and consumers' control...a system attuned to people's real needs...not shaped by the manipulated 'demands' of passive consumers...

BUT SUBSTITUTING A PLANNED ECONOMY FOR A MARKET ECONOMY IS NOT THE ULTIMATE GOAL...ONLY A PRECONDITION FOR REAL CHANGE...

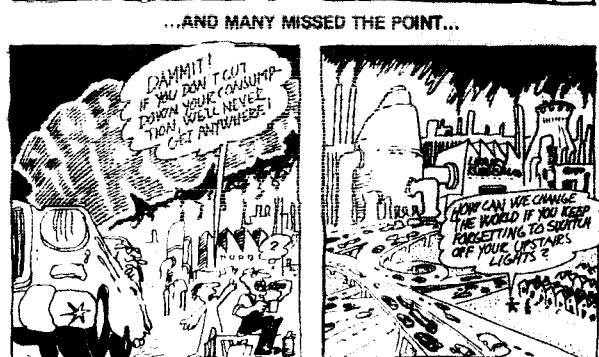


UNPLANNABLE ECONOMIES AND UNECONOMIC PLANNING...

Calls for some form of planning are now being heard from economic experts in such capitalist strongholds as Britain and the United States...without much success...

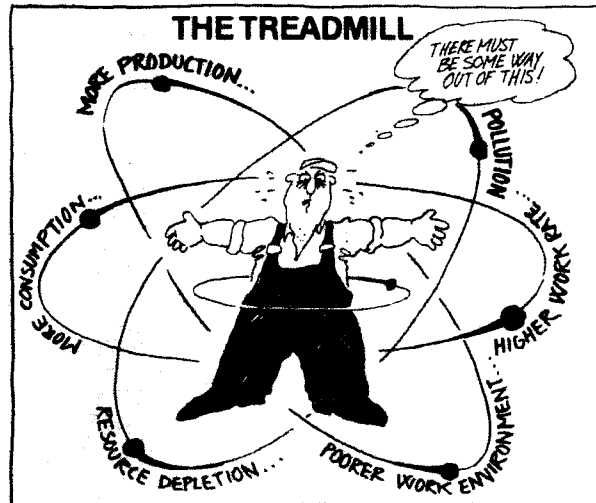


OTHERS GOT CARRIED AWAY...



SO IT WASN'T STRANGE THAT MUCH OF THE LABOR MOVEMENT DISMISSED THE ENVIRONMENTAL MOVEMENT AS AN ASSEMBLY OF MIDDLE-CLASS CRAZIES OUT OF TOUCH WITH THE FACTS OF WORKING LIFE...

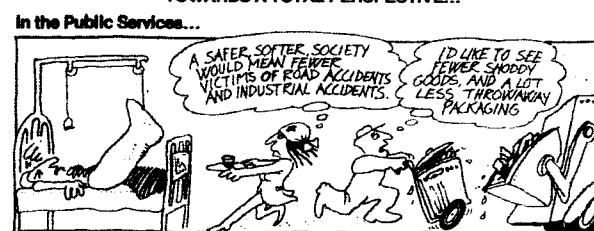
THE TREADMILL



WORKERS IN SOME COUNTRIES STARTED LISTENING WHEN ENVIRONMENTALISTS STARTED TALKING THEIR LANGUAGE...



TOWARDS A TOTAL PERSPECTIVE...



...AND A CO-ORDINATED DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT!

EDITORIAL

Liberals drift with hawks back to draft

On April 30, the fourth anniversary of the end of the Vietnam war, the House military personnel subcommittee approved a measure for resuming selective service registration of 18-year-olds beginning 1981. Several conscription bills have also been introduced in the current session of Congress (ITT, May 9). After only four years of an all-volunteer army, the drift back to the draft is picking up a glacial momentum.

The Carter administration can not be relied upon to stop it. Although formally on record against reinstituting the draft, the administration's habitual rightward slide has made it part of the drift.

In committing itself to a military build-up to win Senate votes for the SALT II treaty, it has strengthened the hand of the generals arguing the weaknesses of the all-volunteer army. In lending its own rhetoric to the cries against government spending, it has added credence to the fiscal conservatives arguing the relative cheapness of a conscript army. In pursuing policies feeding economic slowdown, it has inspired liberals who see conscription as a convenient solution to chronic youth unemployment.

Liberals, conservatives, military brass have at last found an issue uniting them—not civil liberties, equal rights, economic growth or other such mainstays of the American Democratic Way, but a conscript army, that venerable symbol of old world autocratic tyranny.

A good old-fashioned consensus in this era of factional disarray may be too much for the Carter administration to resist. And beneath its formal gestures in favor of the volunteer army, it has in effect already joined the drift to the draft.

It has permitted the Joint Chiefs, led by Army Chief of Staff Gen. Bernard W. Rogers and Marine Commandant Gen. Louis Wilson, to speak out for the draft in direct contradiction of ostensible administration policy, though it cashiered Gen. Singlaub for a similar infraction when he opposed reduction of U.S. forces in South Korea.

The administration's "counter-pro-



posals" are no less revealing. They include higher enlistment bonuses, shorter enlistment terms, education benefits and more civilian employees in noncombatant jobs, all of which would increase the personnel cost of the volunteer army, make it less combat ready in the eyes of the hawks, and discredit it even further with those in Congress who want to hold down spending, upgrade the army's fighting capacity and release more funds for military hardware.

But the administration has gone one step further. It is considering adoption of passive registration of 18-year-olds, giving the army access to school, IRS and social security files to identify eligibles without their active involvement. Such covert registration, giving the military unprecedented powers to violate citizens' privacy, makes the old-fashioned

draft seem benignly liberal by comparison.

Why the drive to restore the draft at this time? The generals and their hawkish allies in Congress have minced few words. They want the U.S. ready for another war soon. They want more cannonfodder for the next war, which, they candidly testify, will produce tens of thousands of casualties in the first few months. Since a major nuclear war will not last that long, they have in mind wars of intervention against revolutions in "allied" countries. They want to prevent another "Iran." They want Americans to forget Vietnam.

They fear the rising number of women in military service, which the all-volunteer army has facilitated, as detrimental to the martial spirit in the armed services and society as a whole. They fear the political unreliability of a disproportion-

ately black army (blacks comprise 30 percent of current enlistees), in the event of an intervention in Africa, Latin America or the Middle East. They fear politicalization and unionization that may come with greater civilian employment in non-combat army jobs. They fear the resurgence of the traditional American aversion to martial patriotism. They want an "affirmative action" to bring more "middle class" white men into the Army, kicking and screaming if need be.

They want, in short, a military policy that will make Vietnam-style interventions, rather than a peace-keeping diplomacy, the path of least resistance.

The hawks are joined by those paternalistic reformers who otherwise sing the praises of the "free market," but know that the market cannot provide opportunity, training, and income to millions of young people. Fearing the social disintegration of rising youth unemployment, they are prepared to save the "free market" for capital by regimenting labor.

Such liberals as Notre Dame University president Rev. Theodore M. Hesburgh, serving as co-chair of the Committee for the Study of National Service, are backing "liberal" Republican Representative Paul N. McCloskey Jr.'s bill for a universal national service, which would conscript all young men and women into the labor force with military service as one of the "job" options. Without rebuke from Carter, Defense Secretary Harold Brown, according to *Army Times*, has directed the armed services to prepare themselves for playing an active role in managing youth employment programs. It takes little imagination to foresee the grave danger posed to trade unions by militarization of the labor force.

The drift to the restoration of the draft is symptomatic of the continuing disintegration of a liberalism committed to defending the Corporate Order at home and abroad, to "save" which it must inexorably destroy itself. It pinpoints the growing emergence of a corporate collectivism replacing the collapsing liberalism.

The movement against the draft, if it is to have more than an ephemeral success like that of the past four years, will have to be part of a new politics committed to replacing the corporate system with a democratic society having no need for militaristic "solutions" in foreign or domestic affairs.

Human rights at home are imperiled by inaction against Klan racism

Ku Klux Klan aggressions against black citizens' rights are once again afflicting the deep South, most recently in the Tupelo-Okolona area of Mississippi (ITT, May 2) and in Alabama (story, page 3). They should remind us, if we need reminding, that the struggle for civil rights and democracy is far from won, and that racism is still a major force in the U.S.

As the nation's economy approaches recession, aggravating the already serious problems of unemployment and declining living conditions, extra vigilance will be needed against racist attempts to scapegoat blacks and other minorities, divide working people against themselves, and distract them from a common resistance to the real source of their troubles—the corporations, the utilities, the banks, and their political allies.

As in the past, Klan activity is not simply a matter of a few cowards and bullies draping themselves in sheets while performing barbaric acts. It is rooted in, financed and supported by, "respectable" businessmen, clergy, politicians and police, who benefit from racist oppression of blacks and the oppression of whites that is the other side of the racist coin.

The Klan operates as their protection agency—against better wages, social services, education, and the democratic politics that full citizenship rights and racial accord inevitably bring. It is no accident that Klan activity is on the rise now, when the South is becoming the scene of major trade union organizing battles.

But there are also differences from the past. Most white Americans reject the methods and blatant racist ideology associated with the Klan. Black Americans in the South, as elsewhere, know the strength of political organization and of exercising their voting rights. They have seen that strength overturn Jim Crow laws and expand their liberties and opportunities. They know the politicians know that strength. And as Alabama SCLC coordinator Rev. John Nettles says, "We're not going back.... We may die, but there will be no going back."

The recent Klan outrages have centered in rural Southern towns where blacks are conducting effective boycotts, affirmative action and civil rights campaigns to catch up with some of the gains and elementary rights achieved by blacks in the larger

Southern cities.

If local or state governments do not, as they are legally bound to do, protect citizenship rights from the Klan's lawless depredations and from complicit officials and police, and if the federal government does not enforce the equal protection of the law in states and localities, blacks and their white allies will be fully justified in defending their rights by all means necessary. That defense is also the duty of all those committed to democracy.

In response to the latest Klan aggressions, President Carter should lose no more time in dispatching not only FBI agents but also federal marshalls, to arrest and bring indictments against all those, including public officials, who are violating the law by attempting to deprive black citizens of the full exercise of their rights and liberties. That would give substance to Carter's verbal expression of pride in a "New South." It would also demonstrate his understanding that a professed commitment to human rights throughout the world is a hollow hypocrisy if it isn't strictly implemented at home.

LETTERS

OVERRATING RADIATION

ERNEST STERNGLASS (*ITT*, APR. 18) mentions that Dr. Allen Brodsky of the NRC lists 21 radioactive chemicals that there is every reason to believe escaped into the atmosphere from the Harrisburg accident. Sternglass does state that Brodsky bases the calculations on data "from earlier nuclear accidents and during nuclear bomb tests carried out in the '50s and '60s."

According to the article, it seemed that Sternglass had talked to Dr. Brodsky about the Harrisburg accident. I work for a publishing company and Brodsky is the editor of one of the books we publish. When I showed him the article, he got angry. He told me he had not talked to Sternglass since the accident.

In a letter I received from Brodsky, he stated that "results [from my paper] were calculated under the assumption that a large fraction of radiiodines and other fission products were released from the hypothetical reactor. As I have stated in public on a number of occasions since the Three Mile Island accident, the containment building retained a remarkably high proportion of those radionuclides that escaped from the reactor vessel, so Dr. Sternglass is quoting results based on assumptions that are not applicable to the Three Mile Island accident. Evidence from whole-body counting of more than 700 persons shows very definitely that the amount of internal exposure from radiiodine or any other radionuclide has been negligible and could not be even one-millionth of the dose calculated in my hypothetical accident."

Even though I am anti-nuke, I do want to set the facts straight with regard to what Sternglass wrote.

—Paul Gottfeller
West Palm Beach, Fla.

LIKES DEER HUNTER

IAM WRITING IN REGARDS TO YOUR review of *The Deer Hunter*. Although the Russian roulette scenes are somewhat overdone, for the most part it is an excellent picture.

The picture's main point is what happens when three working-class young men enlist in the Army and go to Vietnam. It shows how this experience changed their lives. You have failed to see this even though it runs throughout the picture.

The Oscar it received for Best Picture was well deserved and you should go back and see it again because you've missed the whole point completely.

By the way, I am a Vietnam veteran myself, having spent three and a half years in the Navy and most of it on an ammunition ship off the coast of Vietnam.

—Mike Parisi
New York

LIKES REVIEW

PAT AUFDERHEIDE'S ARTICLE ON *THE Deer Hunter* (*ITT*, May 16) was as close as anyone has come to pointing out some of the dilemmas that the Vietnam vet has to face about his involvement in that undeclared war.

As for the claims of the film's racism: I can recall asking a wounded Marine sergeant, on my first day in Vietnam, "How can you tell the enemy from the citizens?" His answer has been with me since. He said, "There are no friendly people in this country. They are all your enemies." And for every second of the 13 months and 16 days I spent in Vietnam, I felt that I was gambling with death.

God forgive us all, the survivors and the dead.

—Eddie Anton
Minneapolis

PR ON VIETNAM

I'VE BEEN WAITING (AND HOPING) TO see *ITT* print something other than the obvious PR handouts that Wilfred Burchett is sending you from Vietnam under the guise of "objective reporting." If you can't find anyone to write a more honest account of the China-Vietnam conflict I suggest you re-print something from the *Beijing Review* or *China Reconstructs*. At least it'll come straight out of the dragon's mouth as the Chinese version.

—A.J. Auerbach
Carbondale, Ill.

WEIRDOS

IN 1975, I RAN FOR A SEAT ON THE BALTIMORE City Council. During that election, and subsequently, I was attacked in print by the local branch of the U.S. Labor Party. I filed a libel suit and, in 1977, following a six-day trial, the jury awarded me \$30,000 in damages.

The USLP has been unsuccessful in its Maryland appeals, and has now appealed to the Supreme Court. I believe they will fail there also.

My reasons for this letter are:

1. I am not the only person this weird group has attacked, for sure, but I may be one of only a few to have sued them successfully. Perhaps other people who are considering legal action against the USLP will be encouraged by my experience.

2. Since the USLP apparently does not wish to pay what they owe me, I am taking steps to remedy this reluctance by continuing court actions. If any of your readers has financial knowledge of the U.S. Labor Party and its alter-ego, the National Caucus of Labor Committees, or any of its front groups (Fusion Energy Foundation, Committee for Fair Elections, etc.), I would appreciate being contacted. I will put them in touch with my attorneys. We are interested in learning about funding sources, regular and/or major contributors, locations of bank accounts, property holdings.

3. Finally, I would like to hear from anyone who has had a similar experience with the USLP. They are a nasty crew, and it might be useful to compare notes.

—Grenville B. Whitman
Baltimore, Md.

SEGREGATION AND SEPARATION

ONE WOULD LIKE TO THINK THAT black separatist ideology would by now have been thoroughly discredited on the left. The '60s taught many of us that corporate liberalism was quite ready to accede to separatist demands for community control and segregated special programs as a means of reducing the power of a minority group by separating it from potential allies. This, of course, laid the basis for cuts in social programs of all kinds once the tumult subsided.

This historical lesson seems to have escaped Manning Marable. Of course, that lesson would not change his assumptions about "white racism"—after all, everyone knows we can't be trusted because of our genetic and cultural inability to work or live with black people. But his incredible linking of racial integration to racial inequality shows not the slightest historical understanding of how the U.S. ruling class has used racial division to destroy working class movements. Marable says that segregation and separatism are different; in terms of the impact they have had on the political, economic, and social progress of American blacks, I would say they are one and the same.

Black studies programs and black colleges, like segregated schools, produce

either a few black members of a capitalist class, or perhaps two capitalist classes—one white, one black. They do not produce what racial integration might: an interracial social movement capable of presenting unified demands for economic and social justice for people of all races.

Many of the special programs of the '60s were designed to buy off radicals of both races and give them a stake in segregation. They worked. It's time we stopped listening to these beneficiaries and their allies.

—Michael Engel
Northampton, Mass.

GREENLAND AND DENMARK

ARTIC DENMARK (GREENLAND) IS not a colony. I get the impression, reading your brief item on the recent victory of the Siumut Socialist Party, that you think the issue is just another example of colonialism (like Britain and Ghana, say) for which the solution is obvious: the dissolution of the Danish nation as it stands.

The racially mixed population (a small minority are pure blooded eskimo) is not being oppressed from the European side—far from it! There is simply no crying need for the dismemberment of a civilized state, except for egotistic sectionalism. (I must admit, one component of "the widespread resistance in the Danish Parliament" stems from the same place; with Greenland, Denmark is one of the largest nations—13th, between Zaire and Libya—without Greenland, not so sizeable.)

It's not "Greenland and Denmark" side by side—Greenland is no less Danish than the Faroe Isles (guess who's next?) and should remain so.

I refuse to apologize for my out of fashion views. I remain opposed to "civilized disintegration" (while Imperial Russia goes unchallenged). I realize all this must sound obscure and a little absurd to cosmopolitan ears; however, it's not altogether unimportant.

—J.W. Cusimano-Johnson
Justice, Ill.

PEURALA INTERVIEW MISSED KEY ISSUES

AS A SOCIALIST FEMINIST INVOLVED in a women's employment project, I find it frustrating and all too common that socialists ignore women's issues when dealing with trade union issues. David Moberg's interview with Alice Peurala (*ITT*, May 16) is a case in point.

One learns that Peurala heads a 7,500-member industrial local, is a socialist, opposed the war in Indochina, and supports abortion rights. An interview with such a woman could have provided an opportunity to pose questions about the limits of traditional trade union militance and to raise fresh issues. I would like to have heard what Peurala has to say about the position of women in the steel industry and in the steelworkers union, about resistance and support she encountered in working on abortion rights, about how she sees her role as a socialist (and not simply as a good trade unionist), about her thoughts on getting unions to support feminist issues like child-care, sexual harassment, and sex discrimination in hiring, training and promotion.

None of these issues got discussed, since the dialogue focused exclusively on "tough-minded trade unionism and relentless union democracy." So it leaves me wondering—is this tough-minded male trade unionism, and does this relentless union democracy extend to women as well? Were Moberg more aware of feminist issues, his story would have been more complex and enlightening. While these issues may not be on the agenda of most labor activists, and they may be far from Moberg's and Peurala's consciousness, they are important. Surely the labor movement would be revitalized if it began to recognize and deal with the particular circumstances, prob-

lems and needs of the 41 percent of the labor force that is female.

—Barbara Apfelbaum
New American Movement
New Haven, Conn.

David Moberg replies: *Peurala's priorities—despite her private sympathies and her involvement in the fight for women's rights in the industry (which was the lead item in the article)—are for emphasis on militant trade union activism and democracy, not on socialism or feminism per se. Her strategy may be different from that of other feminists in the labor movement, but the point of the interview was to permit her to define herself and her perspective.*

NEGRI ARREST

DIANA JOHNSTONE'S COVERAGE of the growing political oppression in Italy has become intolerable. Her first article (*ITT*, April 18) was forcefully criticized by George Rawick (*Letters*, *ITT*, May 16). But in the same edition Johnstone published another account of the events in Italy that glossed over the police state tactics being used by Italian authorities in prosecuting Negri and the other people arrested in April. Rawick was quite right in saying that the magistrate Calogero has presented no evidence for the charge that Negri is the secret leader of the Red Brigades. In fact, the Italian press recently quoted the judge in the inquiry as saying that most of the case against Negri is being based on his responses during interrogation about his writings and political views.

Johnstone, for some reason, ignores the fact that Negri and the others are being prosecuted for "thought crimes," for being the intellectual leaders of militant groups opposed to the Communist Party as well as the Christian Democrats. It is incredible that a correspondent for a democratic socialist newspaper can give even qualified endorsement to arrests and indefinite detainment based on what Johnstone calls "an intellectual hunch" that there is a link between Autonomia and the Red Brigades. By writing that "In the land of Machiavelli, why couldn't Negri, who's supposed to be so smart, be faking his opposition to the Red Brigades?" your correspondent is engaging in precisely the same game as Calogero: prosecution by innuendo. Johnstone is apparently quite comfortable with the new judicial atmosphere in Italy, in which guilt is pronounced first and then there is a frantic search for evidence.

If *In These Times* persists in publishing these apologies for oppression, I suggest readers turn elsewhere for news on Italy. They can begin with a dossier on the arrests available from the Committee Against Repression in Italy, at 159 West 33rd Street, Room 1010, New York, NY 10001.

—Philip Mattera
New York City

CORRECTIONS

Last week's front cover photo on gas prices should have been credited to Steve Kagan; the front-cover photo of Barry Commoner should have been credited to Andrew Popper, and the photo accompanying the civil rights story on Page 7 should have been credited to Richard Stromberg.

Also, in Derk Richardson's article in the May 9 issue, "I've got what it takes (but it breaks my heart to give it away): Women and Jazz," a proofreading error left the unfortunate impression that a *down beat* article criticizing women jazz musicians as a group was recent. Far from it; the article was published in 1935.

Editor's Note: Please try to keep letters under 250 words in length. Otherwise we may have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, if possible, please type and double-space letters—or at least write clearly and with wide margins.

MANNING MARABLE

FROM THE GRASSROOTS

Illusion and realities in the movement for equality in America

BY MOST STANDARDS, THE years between 1960 to 1972 were a dynamic period of political achievement and economic growth for most black people. The percentage of black income at all levels rose from about 56 percent to about 63 percent. The number of black-owned banks and businesses rose dramatically, as politicians at all ends of the political spectrum, from Nixon to Humphrey advanced the notion of "black power" as "black capitalism."

The federal government initiated affirmative action guidelines which forced hundreds of businesses with federal contracts to hire specific numbers of minorities. The number of black elected officials more than doubled within a decade as thousands of former community activists became part of either the local, state



or federal government.

Blacks acquired new leverage within the dominant culture, as thousands of black men and women were hired in the media, artistic and cultural institutions. The greatest achievement of the era, the destruction of the legal Jim Crow system of segregation, the American version of apartheid, broke the continuity of a hundred years of Southern history and racism.

Despite these notable achievements, the recent period since 1972 has marked a retrenchment of the dominant white society against further progressive change. A brief review of the economic realities of an average black family reveals the distance between blacks and whites in economic relations.

The total net wealth accumulated by an average black family, including all assets, is under \$6000. This would include an average bank account of under \$500 and several hundred dollars equity in an automobile. Even at the same income levels, the ratio of net total wealth between blacks and whites, including real estate, property and liquid assets, is about one to four overall.

In 1971, for example, at the \$10,000 to \$14,999 income level per year, the net wealth for white families was \$24,000, compared to \$8,600 for black families. In other words, even when black income levels rose, as they did in the period 1960-72, the gap between black vs. white capital accumulation has persisted and even widened. The illusion of income equality obscures the reality of black economic inequality.

The central task of our movement, at this stage of history, is to revive the struggle toward real economic and social equality within American society. This will not be easily accomplished. We must begin by first defining ourselves, rethinking our ideas about work, economics and social responsibility.

Equality must mean more than simply the attainment of full employment, the guarantee of a good job for every individual. Equality must also involve the responsibility of work, of training black youth to view work as a means of redefining their environment, and in contributing to a better kind of society for everyone. We have to teach our youth that the

ultimate dehumanization is life without work; that work provides us with a way of confronting ourselves and others toward building a new kind of society.

Equality must mean less dependence upon others, and more dependence upon ourselves. We should re-examine, for instance, the relationship between the widespread use of welfare and the growth of criminality, drugs and social dislocation and alienation within the black community.

Equality should mean that the government should be committed to the pursuit of the prerequisites for a fair and just life for all people, without at the same time turning people into dependents and non-productive individuals. Affirmative action in our schools, for example, should be used to give black youth the opportunity to achieve a good education, not to promote the questionable cultural goal of integration.

Economic equality could mean that the federal government would provide several billions of dollars in interest-free loans to minority businessmen and contractors, not as a dole, but to allow them to have the prerequisites to compete more equally with white-dominated corporations. Cultural equality could mean massive federal aid to traditionally black colleges, without concomitant federal pressure to desegregate these institutions.

As W.E.B. DuBois observed in 1960, the achievements of the civil rights era were simply "the beginning of even more difficult problems of race and culture. Because what we must ask ourselves is, when we become equal American citizens, what will our aims and ideals be? Are we to simply adopt the ideals of white Americans [and have] no ideals of our own?"

Manning Marable is professor of history at the University of San Francisco. He is an editor of *Socialist Review*.

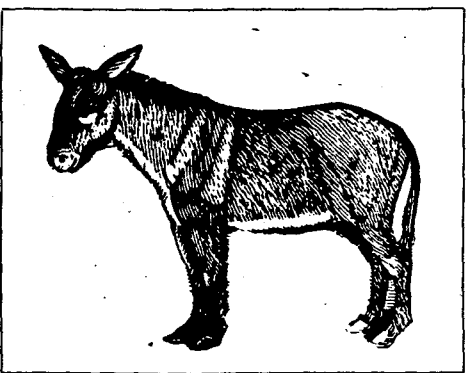
MONTE BUTE

Thoroughbreds vs. Mules: Class conflict splitting Minnesota Democrats

THE NORTHSIDE MACHINE'S blustery baron, Jim Rice, had entered the Minneapolis mayoral race as a henchman for Bob Short, the devil incarnate of Minnesota politics. Their evil conspiracy was a vendetta against incumbent Al Hofstede for his refusal to support the villainous Short in his maverick U.S. Senate campaign. The bland but honest Hofstede had betrayed his own machine after Short's unscrupulous and dastardly defeat of the martyred saint Don Fraser in the primaries. When Hofstede decided not to run, Fraser, now the avenging angel, saw an opening for sweet revenge—and got it with the Democratic-Farmer-Labor (DFL) party's mayoral nomination. The prince of darkness was stopped, the prince of light emerged victorious and righteousness prevailed.

Pure manure. I watched the reporters covering the city convention of the DFL and later read and viewed their coverage. It was as if the metropolitan corporate media had allowed their advertising and public relations staff to write the script. Ratings and sales were at stake, and the reportage of a medieval morality play was aimed at a mass consumption market.

Marketable, but pure manure. Let's try it one more time. The 1979 struggle for the DFL mayoral nomination was another skirmish in the civil war that has ravaged the party for 11 years. The history of this Minnesota political party since 1968 is a micro-



cosm of the unacknowledged class war raging in America.

Yes, class war. No, not the one vulgar Marxists continue predicting, and academic apologists continue denying the possibility of: this is a class struggle that no one predicted or denied—because no one saw it coming.

After Hubert Humphrey, Art Naftalin, Eugene McCarthy, Orville Freeman, Walter Mondale, Don Fraser and others orchestrated a party purging of all communists, radicals and other questionable ultraliberals in 1948, the DFL settled into the vital center of the newly revitalized corporate state. From 1948 to 1967 consensus reigned about the superiority of the American Way of Life; the DFL helped give America the corporate economy, federal bureaucracy, cold war, Vietnam, nuclear power and the roots of runaway inflation.

If the proper emblem of the pre-1968 party was the donkey, then the symbol of a decade of civil war in the DFL should be a yoked team of a thoroughbred and a mule, kicking and nipping at each other.

The DFL Thoroughbred as a composite type is college educated, Anglo-Saxon or Scandinavian, middle or upper middle class, earning a family income of \$15,000-45,000 and a white collar professional in a bureaucracy. This person has a moderately alternative lifestyle, is a chic consumer in fashionable shops and participates in trendy recreation like jogging, fern-and-vine cafes, racquetball, concerts and theater. The issues that Thoroughbreds assertively defend are environmentalism, affirmative action, defense cutbacks, protecting welfare programs, pro-choice and human rights.

The Thoroughbred's class enemy is the Mule. A typical Mule is a high school graduate, white ethnic, working or lower middle class, earning a family income of \$10,000-20,000 and a blue collar skilled or semi-skilled worker in private industry. This person has a traditional lifestyle, is a practical consumer in discount houses and sees recreation as bowling, TV, fishing, going to a family restaurant, spectator sports and family picnics. The Mule promotes unionism, pro-life, strong defense budgets, less government regulation, lower property and income taxes, an end to welfare abuse and reverse discrimination.

The important institutions for a Thoroughbred are the welfare state, schools and civic organizations; on the other hand, Mules cherish family, church and union. This civil war goes beyond politics. Conflict over culture, lifestyle, morality and worldview qualify this as a class struggle.

In either the primary or the general election, unless there are major programmatic changes, Fraser and his followers will lose another election. And again, it won't be right-wing kooks or single-issue fanatics that defeat him: it will be the Thoroughbred economic policy of corporate liberalism that continues to alienate the Mules.

To listen to Thoroughbreds one would imagine the Mules were in favor of nuclear accidents, war, sexism, consumer rip-offs, racism and poverty. Fraser and his legions fail to understand that the hiring and promotion of women and minorities, defense cuts, welfare programs and governmental regulations are seldom at the expense of corporations. They pass the cost on to the consumers, or comply with regulations in a way that penalizes Mules by taking their jobs, incomes and secur-

ity. If pressed, the corporation simply moves out of the state, or country.

The DFL Thoroughbreds helped create the welfare that expects the middle third of society to pay not only for the poor that the corporate economy excludes, but to provide government subsidies directly to corporations. Additionally, on the city, state and federal level commercial and corporate taxes continue to fall or remain constant, while property and income taxes continue to skyrocket.

Mules are not mean-spirited and selfish reactionaries; but their sense of fair play is deeply offended and they're sick of paternalistic and presumptuous politics. This is not to say the Mules are without fault, but Fraser and the Thoroughbreds have the ball in their court. This could be the last hurrah of liberalism.

There was a "Third Force" at the DFL convention that is on the move and growing. They understand that neither the Thoroughbreds nor the Mules are the problem, that each have half of the truth and their unification is the solution: the real enemy of human rights and economic democracy is the corporations and the corporate class that dominate Minneapolis, Minnesota and America.

In Minneapolis this third grouping includes the cooperative movement, neighborhood activists, progressive trade unionists, left feminists, radical minorities, lesbians and gays, organized tenants and energy activists. At this time, these sectors form a loose alliance centering around the Farmer Labor Association, which has recently matured from the crawling to the walking stage. It is not yet FLA's time, but they may be in the running sooner than anyone imagines.

It is going to get a lot worse before it begins to get better in the DFL.

Monte Bute is active in the Minnesota Farmer-Labor Association.

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PERSPECTIVES

The time has come for socialized energy

By Andrew J. Winnick

THERE ARE MANY LEGITIMATE CRISES FACING THE PEOPLE of this country and of the world, but a "real" shortage of energy is not one of them. The so-called energy crisis is a fabrication of large energy corporations in the pursuit of higher profits and tighter control over the market, and of oil producing nations attempting, with a good deal of legitimacy and justice, to make up for the virtual theft of their oil over the last half century by, largely, American and, to a lesser extent, British and Dutch oil corporations. ¶These comments may

seem overly harsh. After all, has not the President declared the energy crisis to be real? But the relevant facts about each of the major sources of energy tell a different story.

Oil. There is currently no shortage of available oil. Even before the shutdown of the Iranian fields (which at their peak provided only 5 percent of the oil consumed in the U.S.), the Middle Eastern countries were producing at only 40 percent of their capacity. When the Iranian shutdown occurred, the others said that they increased their production to make up for at least half the Iranian oil. The CIA announced that in January and February, world production of oil actually increased. There was, and is, no significant shortage.

President Carter is proposing to deregulate the price of oil produced in the U.S. and has publicly stated that he hopes this will accomplish two things, higher prices so consumers will buy less, and the production of more domestic oil. Economists agree that the first expectation will be met half way; prices (and oil company profits) will go up, but consumption is unlikely to drop much. Far more important and revealing is the expectation of more domestic oil production.

Currently, only the price of oil pumped from old wells, in operation before 1973, is being regulated to keep it at about \$6 per barrel, while oil from newly discovered wells is near or at the world price of about \$15 per barrel. What the President is admitting by his action is that the blackmail by the oil corporations has worked. He has agreed to pay the ransom. The oil companies, once they get higher prices for old oil, will increase production. Their costs of producing from old wells will not have changed a penny, so the result will simply be a windfall of higher profits, exactly what the oil companies have been waiting for and why they have artificially been holding back production.

Even Carter acknowledges that this will happen and has been forced to give lip service to the need for a special windfall profits tax. However, it is far from certain that the tax will ever actually be implemented.

Moreover, with the expanding oil production from Alaska, England, Norway, Mexico, China and Vietnam, to say nothing of Venezuela, Nigeria and Angola, the likelihood of any real shortage in the near future is slight indeed. As a footnote, the largest oil producing country in the world is the USSR, which supplies Eastern Europe, and the U.S. is the second largest. About half the oil produced in Alaska is sold to Japan, which the oil companies said would not happen when they fought to construct the Alaskan pipeline.

Natural Gas. Two winters ago, people in Ohio and New England died from the cold because of a so-called natural gas shortage in the U.S. The price of natural gas was regulated at that time by the government to prevent the gas companies

(most of which are owned by or linked to the oil companies) from making exorbitant profits at the expense of the American people. Again their blackmail worked. The President and Congress agreed to deregulate the price of natural gas, and lo and behold the actual amount of gas available for production and sale was suddenly discovered to be two to five times as much as the corporations had previously admitted. We suddenly have a glut of natural gas and all talk of shortage has ended.

Coal. The U.S. is the largest coal-producing country in the world. No one, not even the oil companies (many of the biggest of which are owned by the oil companies), even pretends that there is now, or will be in the next century or more, any shortage of coal. There are humane and environmentally safe ways to mine it and to burn it, if we are willing to force the corporations to do it that way. Moreover, it can be liquified and made into gasoline (that's how Germany fueled its tanks in World War II—it had little or no oil), and coal can even be gasified and burned like natural gas.

Solar Power. Last year, a government study, which the President tried to suppress, revealed that for about \$1 billion dollars a year for a five-year development effort, this country could meet 20 to 25 percent of its energy needs from solar power, mostly for home heating. (By comparison, our defense budget is currently running at more than \$125 billion a year.) And this does not even begin to tap the potential of solar power directly to produce electricity (which is how all our space vehicles get their electricity).

Nuclear Power. Nuclear power is a disaster. We do not need it, and we should not want it. This country currently has the electrical generating capacity to produce 32 percent more electricity than we use on the peak load day of the year. Nuclear power produces only about 13 percent of our electricity. Hence, we could shut down all the nuclear plants and survive nicely. On the other hand, if we continue to operate and build them, the dangers from their operation, such as at Harrisburg, and from the disposal of their radioactive wastes, for which there is no known or envisioned safe handling, are liable to end the survival of a great many of us—making the energy or any other crisis irrelevant.

Moreover, nuclear-produced electricity is extraordinarily expensive. Electricity from a new nuclear plant is equivalent in cost to using oil priced at over \$100 a barrel, which is more than six times higher than the latest world price of \$15 per barrel. But the utility companies are guaranteed that they can set whatever rates they need to provide a profit, so it is we who again end up paying for this insanity.

Hydroelectric Power. Far more electricity can be produced from the energy in our moving rivers by more efficiently using the dams, especially the myriad of

small dams, which already exist. These small dams represent an almost untapped source of electricity, especially for many of our smaller communities.

Wind, Geothermal, Tide, Chemical, and Waste Burning. Energy for heating or electricity can be provided by all of these, safely and, after initial development costs, more cheaply than nuclear produced heat and electricity. Many other countries are way ahead of us in the development and use of many of these alternative energy sources.

Alcohol. Alcohol can be extracted from crops such as alfalfa, without the loss of the protein needed for animal feed, and can then be used in place of gasoline to run the engines in our cars or to turn turbines to produce electricity.

Why the energy crisis?

If indeed there is plenty of energy available now and in the future, why do we keep hearing about an energy crisis? The answer is because there is so much energy available. Does that seem crazy? It's no crazier than our economic system where corporations run by a few for the profit of a few, control the lives and futures of the many. An abundance of energy means that the price of energy would fall, energy would be relatively cheap; hence, not very profitable for the large corporations. To maintain their profits and their control over our lives, they must create artificial shortages: (1) by withholding oil or natural gas from the market, (2) by blocking the development of alternative energy sources, except the very expensive and dangerous nuclear source, and (3) by pressuring the government to let them charge the highest prices possible and to keep their costs down both by avoiding safety and environmental regulation and through a complex of special tax breaks.

An important and very relevant example of the latter is the "foreign tax credit." When you hear that the oil producing nations (via OPEC) are charging \$14 per barrel for their oil, what you are not told is that, on average, \$7 to \$9 of that is in

the form of taxes those governments levy on the oil taken from their nations, in order to provide funds for their economic development. The U.S. oil corporations pass those taxes on to us in the form of higher prices. But, in fact, they never really pay them.

The oil companies are allowed to deduct from the taxes they would otherwise pay to the U.S., every penny of taxes they pay a foreign government. That is, they get the foreign taxes back as a U.S. tax credit. So we, the U.S. consumers and taxpayers, really are forced to pay twice—once for the high price of oil and gas and a second time in taxes to make up for those not paid by the oil corporations.

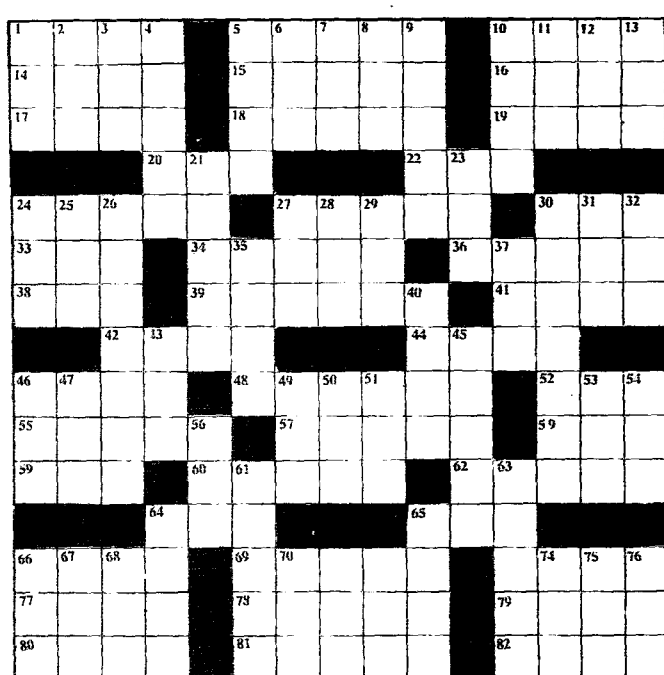
A solution.

How do we end the energy crisis? We do so by ending the control over energy exercised by the energy corporations. We get their hands off our throats and out of our pockets. We do this by recognizing that much of our available oil, gas, and coal is on federally owned land and under federally controlled off-shore waters. We recognize that the U.S. is the only oil producing country in the world without a publicly-owned, federally operated and managed, oil producing company.

That is, we should use our governments—local, state, and federal—to produce oil, gas, coal and electricity to then distribute and sell it as a vital public service, at prices that cover costs and development, but do not produce profits for a few wealthy, elite individuals.

A bill to create just such a Federal Oil Corporation, introduced by Rep. Ron Dellums of California, has been sitting in Congress, virtually ignored, for three years. Perhaps now we can begin to move.

Andrew J. Winnick is professor of political economy at Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio. He was a founder of the Union of Radical Political Economy and an editor of Dollars and Sense.



Political Colors

By David Mermelstein

ACROSS

- 1 Photographic need
- 5 Predecessor to black
- 10 Chip or blood
- 14 Off-Broadway award
- 15 Singer Waters
- 16 Reddish color; perpetrator of widely seen murder
- 17 Author of *Jews Without Money*
- 19 Author James
- 20 Precedes Nov.
- 22 Political suffix
- 24 Reddish yellow; Carter's Georgian but he's no _____
- 27 Color of an infamous list
- 30 Hack
- 33 Not young.
- 34 _____ consent
- 36 Many of these make you 33 Across
- 38 Prospects, often
- 39 Pekoe or blossom
- 41 Region
- 42 _____ facto
- 44 FDR hangout: _____ Springs

- 46 Worker, in Madrid
- 48 Lone Ranger's horse
- 52 Japanese leader
- 55 First Amendment absolutist
- 57 Anais Nin kept one
- 58 'G' _____ to praise him"
- 59 Readings, as from the Bible: Abbr.
- 60 Metric and citric
- 62 What stock brokers have: _____ on the N.Y.S.E.
- 64 Scottish seaport
- 65 Explosive
- 66 Something sometimes jumped
- 69 Lofty nest
- 73 Budge position
- 77 Oriental staple
- 78 Dark color; 1980 dark horse
- 79 N.Y. canal
- 80 Lemon and lime
- 81 Dark color; DOD chief
- 82 Belly button matter

- 1 Airport problem
- 2 Nigerian

- 3 _____ Abner
- 4 Claret from Gironde
- 5 Salamander
- 6 Biblical suffix
- 7 Follows DEF
- * Status of 33 Across, often: Abbr.
- 9 Acid used in cosmetics
- 10 Unruly child
- 11 Car wrench
- 12 Japanese seaport
- 13 Watch
- 21 Situation out of control

- 23 The limit, for some
- 24 Pea holder
- 25 Whitney
- 26 Bluish color; one of the Joint Chiefs
- 27 Lillie
- 28 Chaney
- 29 Neighbor of USSR
- 30 A red; 1st name of politico
- 31 "_____ the stars out..."
- 32 Youth org.
- 33 French artist
- 37 Corn unit
- 40 Pitcher
- 43 West of Calif.
- 45 "Race" touted by Nazis
- 46 Dictionary abbreviation
- 47 Wheat, in Limoges
- 49 African first name
- 50 Top of a jar
- 51 Duet
- 53 _____ tee
- 54 Outfielder Mel
- 56 Kyser or Starr
- 61 George _____, Eng. author
- 63 Grey; _____ Helmet
- 64 Pub drinks
- 65 South of Ken.
- 66 Part of a swimsuit
- 67 Assist
- 68 H₂O, sometimes
- 70 Make a mxl | VI
- 71 3 australian animal, for short
- 72 Big Bill Haywood was active in org.
- 74 Onassis, for short
- 75 One popular way to live (with in)
- 76 Holiday offensive of '68

Solution to last week's puzzle:

A	B	E	T	S	C	R	A	M	T	E	N	G
D	I	V	A	O	H	I	R	A	E	R	I	E
S	T	E	M	D	E	B	A	R	E	E	L	Y
P	G	A	I	A	N							
A	S	S	A	I	J	A	G	A	N	G	A	S
T	I	C	S	P	A	L	E	S	L	I	C	E
A	S	H	M	A	N	L	E	Y	A	S	H	E
M	O	O	R	O	T	I	C					
S	P	I	N	C	A	S	T	R	O			
L	A	D	E	N	P	A	R	E	D			
A	R	T	H	E	T	A						
T	H	I	N	S	H	A	R	D	T	I	T	O
H	U	R	T	P	E	R	E	Z	E	R	A	S
E	A	T	S	S	W	E	D	E	R	A	P	S

The Progressive Alliance, chaired by UAW president Douglas Fraser developed from a gathering last fall of representatives of more than 100 organizations.

Unlike most coalitions that form around a single issue, the Alliance pledges to "organize inside and outside the political parties, hold citizen hearings, sponsor demonstrations, underwrite independent research and work with all who seek to apply democratic principles of participation to our economic and political life."

Marcus Raskin, co-founder of the Institute for Policy Studies, and Jacob Clayman, president of the Industrial Union Department of the AFL-CIO, co-chair the Alliance's Issues Commission.

A similar commission on the political process will focus on initiatives to develop more accountable, issue-oriented politics.

Information about the Progressive Alliance is available from its executive director, William Dodds, 1625 L. St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.

**By Douglas Fraser
President, United Auto Workers**

The U.S. began the 1970s with our political leaders pursuing a brutal, immoral war against the people of Southeast Asia. We end this decade with our leaders pursuing another kind of brutal, immoral war against poor and middle income people.

Both wars began subtly, remained undeclared and offered the justification they were for the good of the entire nation. One employed bombers, tanks and bouncing Betties. The other uses federal budget cuts, wage controls and corporate excess. The horrors of the first stood out visibly, yet the current war also has a body count.

Take the thousands of workers suffering and dying from exposure to cancer-causing chemicals in workplaces. Or the elderly victims of utility shut-offs last winter who couldn't afford gas and electric bills three times those of a decade ago. Or the millions of jobless Americans trying to survive with an annual inflation rate of 13 percent.

Even an optimist must conclude that the road to 1980 has been paved with the politics of meanness. We approach the decade battered by problems that seem intractable and leaders who, rather than seeking solutions, tell us there are no answers. The right wing and its many corporate allies has experienced a resurgence that has progressives on the defensive.

I believe it is possible for progressive forces to regain the offensive in the '80s—but only if we begin to rethink traditional assumptions and revitalize working relationships with groups and movements that have functioned independent of one another. Equally important must be an openness to new and emerging constituencies that will help to shape politics in the next decade.

The Progressive Alliance came about because there are many trade unionists, women's activists, civil rights advocates, senior citizens, environmentalists and community organizers who share that view. Various organizations from these sectors have aligned on specific issues, here and there in the past. But until recently there has been too little real, ongoing contact aimed at developing progressive strategy on a broad agenda of issues.

Perhaps it is a measure of the deep crisis we face that most groups participating in the Progressive Alliance seek out areas of agreement and are willing to dissent on specific issues or strategies without questioning the good faith of those with whom they disagree. This will become more difficult as the Alliance moves from the general to the specific in the months ahead. Yet for progressives to forego ideological litmus tests from one another holds out hope that a broadly based movement can hold together.

We all agree that initiatives to bring about greater political, social and economic equality in the U.S. must be found. Our task is not only to develop fresh ideas, but also to evolve methods of political organizing that result in their implementation.

Seldom has our political process at-

THE ROAD TO 1980

Revitalized left needed for principled politics against corporate power

tracted less support than in this decade. People stay home and don't vote because they have lost faith that casting that vote will impact on the course of the nation. They ask themselves "What difference will it make?" and answer "None." They're usually right.

Time after time we have elected candidates committed to platforms and positions that were abandoned once those candidates gained office. Fewer than 28 percent of those eligible voted for and elected Jimmy Carter in 1976. Many of those who did so believed that they were voting for the directions he outlined on issues such as national health insurance, tax reform and energy policy. Yet, as we approach a new presidential contest, the promises of his platform remain unfulfilled. Indeed, some of the most important have been abandoned in favor of contradictory positions associated with the opposing party.

The erosion of our political parties has yielded a Congress full of politicians devoid of principle. With few exceptions, their days are spent with ear to the ground and finger to the wind. Elected to govern, they show interest only in reelection. And, strangely, their view of the electorate appears shaped more by media, pollsters and "opinion makers" than by the electorate itself.

The proclaimed shift to the right has occurred not so much among the public as among those who have been elected to serve it. Ample evidence exists that citizens are dissatisfied and alienated on a range of issues, but that sour mood is not a conservative trend.

The right has become well-organized and sophisticated in its political initiatives. Its resurgence is real, as are the defeats we have suffered because of that newfound skill at impacting on our political institutions. The right simply has been better at turning the public mood to their ends.

Taxes are a good example. Inflation has forced people into higher tax brackets. And it has raised home values to levels in some areas that do, in fact, make property tax payments virtually impossible for many working people and senior citizens to make. The right correctly perceived the public mood and shaped the issue in California and elsewhere to achieve its ends.

The tax revolt became the conservatives' issue, instead of ours as it should have been. A cohesive progressive movement, such as that the Progressive Alliance hopes to build, might have been able to redirect public momentum toward real tax reform. In the absence of such a movement, the right has snowballed Prop 13 fever, winning a variety of state tax initiatives and creating a perception in the Congress that led to the most regressive federal tax changes in years.

Inflation is another example. Its impact is devastating on workers, senior citizens, the poor and middle class. At the moment, the corporate right is exploiting the traumas of inflation, even as it creates them. Rising costs and prices emerged in the '70s as a virtual plague. As plagues will, they set the scene for a new priesthood to emerge to tout magic incantations and ideological wonder drugs.

The corporate right is underwriting these preachings and spending tens of millions to pump them into the channels

of public opinion. And people listen. Inflation creates a desperate uncertainty. Any answer can seem better than none.

The business community, which is enjoying record profits, may not welcome double digit inflation, but it is equipped to adjust to it. While doing so, corporations have served up "solutions" to inflation that serve other goals. They tell Americans the real inflation villains are government regulation, government spending and workers' wage increases.

Wasting little time on the complexities of the inflation issue, the corporate right has mobilized and directed public opinion away from its own role. Your new shirt costs more because of those health and safety regulations on cotton dust in the textile industry, they say. Slash social programs like public service jobs and Social Security and balance the federal budget to halt inflation. Hold down workers' wages to 7 percent or less.

Energy is yet another issue on which the corporate right has evidenced its skills at structuring the public debate in our country. As with taxes and inflation, there are problems involving energy policy that are extremely complex. Yet the energy conglomerates, which monopolize both energy sources and information about those sources, have used events and strategy to win staggering profits.

Cutting through the complexity, the oil companies have sold the premise that the only way to have adequate energy supplies is to allow prices to rise astronomically. The anger with which the public might have greeted gasoline costing \$1 or more a gallon yields to desperate relief that one actually can get a tankful after a two-hour wait at the local service station.

Decontrol of oil prices and deregulation of natural gas will bring about a massive redistribution of wealth in America—from the poor and middle class to the rich. Yet those policies are presented to us by a Democratic president and a Democratic Congress as the solution to the energy crisis.

The old days during which the corporate right passed the time talking to itself about the glories of the free enterprise system are gone forever. Taxes, inflation and energy provide clear examples of the right's newfound skill at managing the public debate. The right now excels at defining the increasingly complex problems in ways that yield answers benefitting the rich.

Corporations now recognize that just as they line up raw materials, labor and technology to make profits, they must also line up public opinion. The expertise developed to market cars and laundry detergent has been employed to market ideas. Instead of promoting themselves, the corporate right promotes a vision of society in which its ends can be achieved—a climate of opinion and values in which it can thrive.

The resurgent right, in its many forms, evolved in the '70s at the same time a number of traditional forces of political influence eroded—family, religion, political parties and even government.

Ironically, the fertile soil in which the corporate right flourishes today took enrichment from the outpouring of cynicism toward government resulting from the abuses of power and trust exemplified by Vietnam and Watergate. Progressive opposition to those abuses of power ul-

timately did succeed. Yet they helped set the stage for the conservative assault on the social welfare sector of government—the sector that has been a principal vehicle for implementation of the progressive political agenda for 40 years.

The decline of political parties has occurred during this same period. Corporations loosened their allegiance to the Republican Party and its dated geographic and numerical base. Instead, they expanded relationships within the Democratic Party and their own ability to go to voters directly.

At the same time, television made possible the ability of candidates to avoid party structures and go directly to voters with their pitch. Not lending itself easily to discussion of complex issues, TV continues to erode party strength in its current form of 30 and 60-second spots heavy on image, light on substance.

One of the goals of the Progressive Alliance is to develop initiatives that will make the political process more issue-oriented. That process as it's presently constituted remains dominated by forces opposed to any kind of progressive agenda.

With a Congress that functions like a needle on the gauge of public opinion, ready to bounce to changes in the political temperature, progressives must develop strategies for controlling that temperature. We need a counter-attack against the right wing's domination of issues which should be ours.

Instead of trying to convince politicians to sail against the winds of public opinion created by conservatives, we must turn now to changing the direction of those winds. We must view legislative battles and elections as vehicles through which we exercise power already amassed, rather than as forums in which to develop that power.

The organizations that make up the Progressive Alliance will be working in the months ahead to define a variety of initiatives to create a fresh, aggressive effort to revitalize the left. We intend not to become a campaign vehicle for any political candidate, although individual organizations obviously will engage in vigorous electoral campaigning.

It would be inappropriate for the Alliance to seek to impose political endorsements on its member groups. The members of the UAW will decide through our Community Action Program mechanisms who to endorse, just as the National Organization for Women or ACORN or other Alliance members will decide on their own which specific politicians deserve support.

What the Alliance must do, rather than serving some individual candidate, is to help bring about a political climate in which progressives can win elections and legislative struggles. By building a revitalized base among our constituents—working people, minorities, women, senior citizens, the poor and middle class—we can work to enforce a discipline and accountability so lacking among leaders who profess to be on our side yet vote against us.

Taking the offensive away from the right must depend on our own ability to shape the public debate, to organize successfully our own constituencies, and to forge alliance far stronger than those previously existing on the left. Some will be forced to rethink views and accept new approaches. That in part has been a secret of the conservative comeback, even if it is a contradiction in terms.

At the moment, the political and economic levers of power reside in the strong grip of the corporate right. That grip won't be broken until progressives shake off the malaise of the '70s and begin together to struggle, with fresh direction and old-time militancy.

Signs along the road to the 1980s point to slower growth and shrinking resources. To cope, we must develop a movement that will expand, rather than sacrifice, economic, social and political justice.

The right would like the next decade, like this one, to continue the redistribution of wealth from the have-nots to the haves. For working families—the poor and middle class—their vision is less bread, and fewer roses too.

Only a true alliance of progressives can reverse this.

LIFE IN THE U.S.

SCIENCE AND SOCIETY

By Daniel M. Pisello

MOST NUCLEAR REACTORS in the world are operating with a fatal design flaw, brought to light by the recent accident at Three Mile Island. Fuel rods in these reactors consist of uranium oxide fuel pellets, held in thin metal tubes called cladding. The material currently used as cladding in all water-cooled reactors is an alloy of the metal zirconium, which reacts violently with water under a variety of conditions likely to occur.

No viable alternative to the highly dangerous zirconium exists. Because of the zirconium cladding, water-cooled nuclear reactors run a high risk of violent chemical explosion and catastrophic release of radioactivity. And all but one of the 72 reactors in the U.S. are water-cooled, as are 95 percent of all the nuclear plants in the world outside Great Britain, which uses gas-cooled reactors.

At Three Mile Island, mechanical difficulties led to a partial loss of coolant, and a partial meltdown of the reactor core. As an emergency measure, reserve cooling water was sprayed onto the dangerously exposed and overheated core. Hydrogen explosions occurred in the containment and later a huge bubble interfered with efficient cooling of the damaged core, presenting the possibility of a hydrogen explosion inside the reactor vessel.

Spokesmen for the utility company and the Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC) claimed ignorance on the subject of the origin of the hydrogen bubble, referring to it as a "new twist," "something that had not been foreseen when the reactor was designed." The next day the bubble shrank and disappeared.

False ignorance.

The claims of ignorance by the utility companies and federal experts about the appearance and disappearance of the hydrogen are lies. Explanations for these occurrences are commonly available in the literature on nuclear engineering and safety, and concern the use of zirconium alloy cladding.

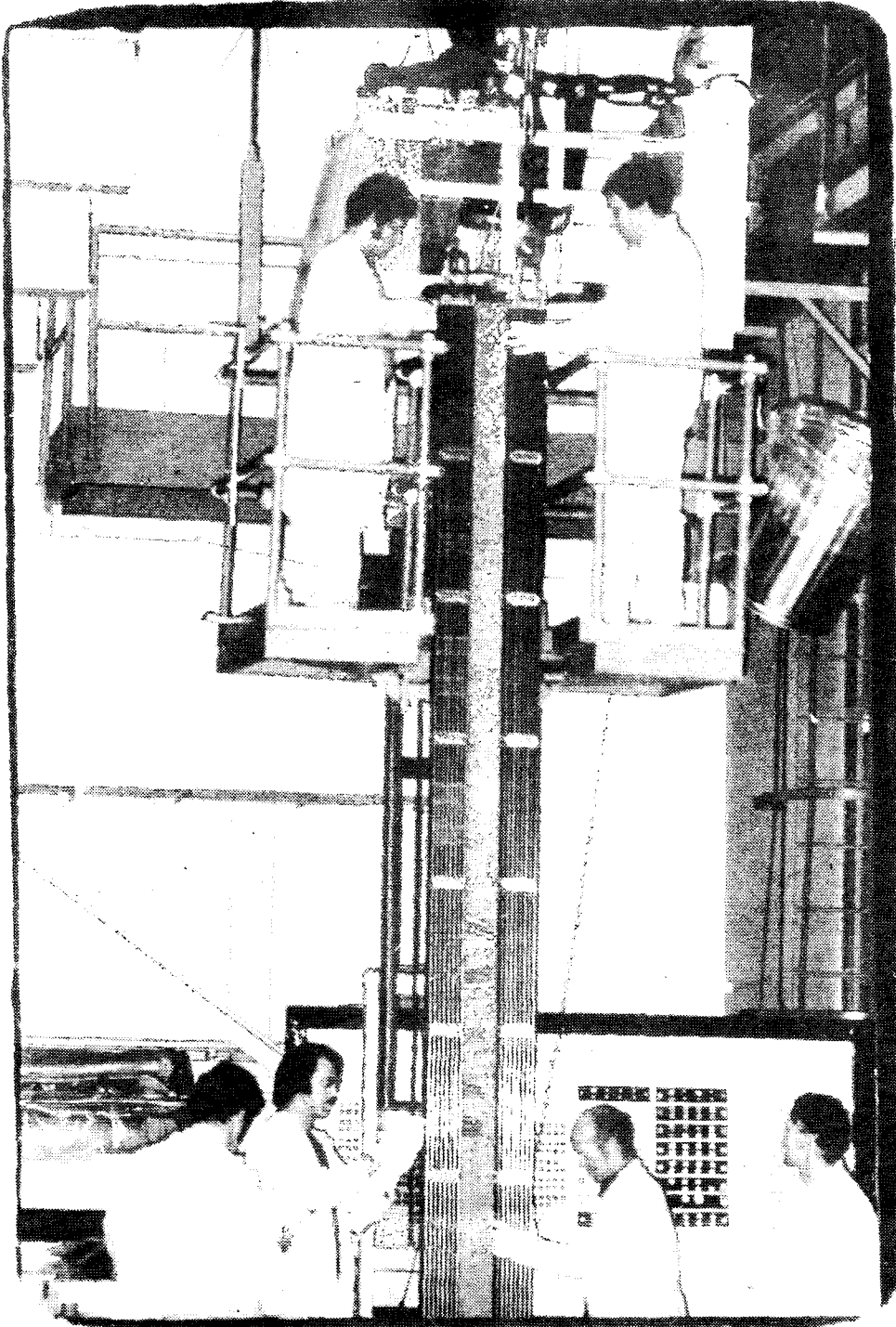
Experts agree that the hydrogen was produced by the reaction of tons of zirconium cladding with steam formed in the reactor vessel during the early stages of the accident. But weeks after the event the only public reference to the role of zirconium in the production of the hydrogen bubble was in the British press, in the only nuclear nation that has no water-cooled reactors.

Sir Martin Kyle of the Cavendish laboratory in Cambridge stated in a letter to *The Guardian* (London) that a highly dangerous hydrogen bubble should have been predicted as a matter of "A-level textbook knowledge." The following is taken from a standard text on reactor safety:

The chemical reaction of the cladding with steam... has three important effects. First, it furnishes energy, which can increase the heating rate of the core. Second, hydrogen, a reaction product, is released to the containment structure. Third, the reaction also changes the character of the cladding (i.e., the metal cladding is converted to an oxide), which can affect the behavior on quenching.

The nuclear industry and the NRC know full well the hazards of zirconium fuel cladding. But they also know that there is no safe alternative to zirconium in water-cooled reactors. The NRC is therefore putting the blame on individual operators, faulty procedures and insufficient regulations. The power company (Metropolitan Edison) and the reactor manufacturer (Babcock and Wilcox) are to be the scapegoats.

The only qualified scientist to protest the use of zirconium in nuclear reactors until now is Professor Earl A. Gulbransen, a materials scientist at the University



The clue of the hydrogen bubble

Three Mile Island revealed a fatal flaw in all water-cooled nuclear plants. And the NRC knew it.

of Pittsburgh, soon after he retired from Westinghouse, where he had worked as a research scientist for 35 years. He warned in a letter written to the *Bulletin of Atomic Scientists* in 1975:

The use of zirconium alloys as a cladding material for the hot uranium oxide fuel pellets is a very hazardous design concept, since zirconium is one of our most reactive metals chemically.

At the operating temperature of nuclear power reactors zirconium cladding alloys react with oxygen in water to form an oxide layer, which partially dissolves in the metal, embrittling and weakening the metal tubing.

Part of the hydrogen formed in the zirconium-water reaction dissolves in the metal and may precipitate a hydride phase, also embrittling and weakening the metal tubing.

At temperatures above 1,100 degrees Celsius zirconium reacts rapidly with steam with a large evolution of heat and the formation of free hydrogen, with most metals, to form intermetallic compounds and with other metallic oxides to form its own oxide. Once zirconium is heated to 1,100 degrees Celsius, which could occur in loss of coolant accidents, it is difficult to prevent further reaction, failure of the tubing and of the reactor.

There appears to be no way to overcome the inherent material problems associated with zirconium alloys and the current design of the reactor. His warnings went unheeded by industry, government and media.

Still dangerous.

The NRC's own calculations, based on the quantity of hydrogen reported at Three Mile Island, show that about 41 percent of the approximately 20 tons of zirconium cladding in the reactor's core had been oxidized in the steam-zirconium reaction. The enormous amount of heat released by this reaction added to the fission product decay heat, and it contributed to the heat-up of the core.

What happened to the hydrogen bubble? The uptake of hydrogen by the coolant water, even under the high pressure prevailing in the reactor vessel, can account for the disappearance of only a small fraction of the bubble. But there is more than enough unoxidized zirconium cladding left in the core to take up all the hydrogen in the form of zirconium hydride $ZrH_{1.5}$. If all the hydrogen in the bubble were taken up by the zirconium another 24 percent of the cladding would be chemically consumed, making a total of 65 percent of the zirconium in the core

converted to oxide or hydride.

The formation of oxide and hydride leads to severe crumbling of both cladding and fuel pellets. The resulting massive exposure of fuel to coolant water drastically increases the rate at which radioactive contaminants are leached out of the core and multiplies greatly the amount of radioactivity released to the environment. The extensive damage to the fuel rods has also altered and inhibited the flow of coolant through the core, resulting in local hot spots.

Leaks and cracks.

The danger of hydrogen explosion will not be over as long as there is hydrogen in the reactor. The slow reaction of zirconium and zirconium hydride with the coolant water continues to produce additional hydrogen. Unless this hydrogen is constantly monitored and removed, new bubbles will accumulate and possibly explode.

The process of removing the hydrogen is slow and dangerous, involving the release of more radioactivity to the atmosphere unless costly liquid hydrogen or liquid helium traps are used to remove inert gases like krypton and xenon. Complete removal of hydrogen from the reaction may take up to two years.

Furthermore, the steel containment lining, reactor vessel and all the piping have been weakened by the absorption of hydrogen. This has led to extensive leaks in the primary coolant system; the vessel itself may break open. Fortunately, the core was only three months old at the time of the accident. A mature core would yield even greater amounts of long-lived contaminants—such as deadly plutonium—than have been released already.

Currently cooling water is being circulated through the damaged core by convective flow, which operates with about 1 percent or less of the pumping force of the normal operating system. In order to cool the core by this method, the reactor is being flooded with river water, which becomes radioactive and is then released back to the river. One million gallons of highly contaminated water have been reported in the containment building. All of this is destined for the Susquehanna River.

Deadly storage.

Finally, there is the grim reality of the storage of spent fuel rods. Each of these reactors produces waste in the form of spent fuel rods, thin zirconium tubes filled with radioactive substances including deadly plutonium. These rods are stored on the plant site underwater in circulating pools designed to carry off the decay heat. A typical pool may contain a ton or more of relatively volatile plutonium oxide.

Only a few feet of water separate the flammable zirconium from air in which it can burn. A zirconium fire in a spent fuel storage pool would result in tons of plutonium smoked out into the atmosphere. And every year nuclear reactors in the U.S. produce about ten tons of deadly plutonium packaged in thin tubes of flammable zirconium.

Zirconium cladding, then, is the Achilles' heel of water-cooled nuclear reactors. Ironically, applying emergency cooling water to an overheated core results in a violent chemical reaction of the water with the zirconium, producing large amounts of heat and explosive hydrogen gas, massive destruction of the cladding and fuel, weakening of the reactor vessel and piping from hydridation, hydrogen explosions and large-scale release of radioactivity. Since no safe material can be substituted for zirconium, the nuclear industry obscures the fact that these reactors have a fatal design flaw.

Daniel Pisello is a physicist with research publications in high-energy experimental physics and theoretical mathematical physics, and teaches at Fordham and Adelphi universities in New York.

DISCO! DISCO!

Four Critics Address the Musical Question

1

By Bruce Dancis

"Disco," like "rock," is too large a type of popular music to characterize easily with one pithy phrase. The best disco—songs by Sister Sledge, Gloria Gaynor and the Atlantic Starrs—strikes me as being as good as the best current soul music. Similarly, the worst disco—Madleen Kane and the tackily discofied versions of "Tuxedo Junction" and "McArthur Park"—equals or sinks beneath the most mindless rock.

But disco bears two additional burdens that weigh down much of the genre. Dominated by producers much more than rock, disco too often reflects business or commercial viability over artistic vitality. Although imaginative auteurist producers have always existed in rock music, for the most part producers reign when musicians have least to say.

Disco also suffers from its predominant function as a dance music. The insistent beat, which is never allowed to vary, constrains even the most boisterous group. A good example is Atlantic Starr's "(Let's) Rock'n'Roll," on their *Straight to the Point* album (A&M Records). Excellent vocals and a solid band seem to be chained awkwardly, struggling to break out of the rigid rhythm. In addition, for dancing purposes disco songs tend to be extremely long—eight to ten minute album cuts are the norm. In the history of rock music, *no one*, with the exception of Bob Dylan, has been able to sustain excitement and tension beyond 2-4 minutes. To me, this says more about the vitality of concentrated power than it does about any dearth of creativity.

Much of the across-the-board dismissal of disco borders on homophobia and racism; the product of insecure and defensive rock fans flailing away at this strange beast that suddenly came to dominate the singles charts. (Why people are so freaked out is a surprise to me; since the British invasion of the mid-'60s, the Top 40 has seldom reflected the most compelling trends.)

Still, there is something sleazy about the ease—no, the desire—of many disco stars to toady up to the worst creeps in the music industry. The day that Graham Parker appears in a suit and tie on the cover of *Fortune*—as the Bee Gees did in the April 23 issue—is the day this rockophile hangs up his headset.

2

By Abe Peck

Besides the sheer exuberance of freaking, spanking, rocking or simply stomping out, what in-

terests me most about disco music is its current universality. Disco music includes both the fiery rhythms of Parliament-Funkadelic, Instant Funk—you get the idea—and the icily technocratic music of *Midnight Express*, which won an Oscar for producer Giorgio Moroder, even though nobody can name a musician who played on the album. It includes calculated excursions of the Rolling Stones and Rod Stewart, and the hilariously crass attempts best exemplified by the late Percy Faith, who gave the world the disco version of "Hava Nagila."

The clubs have the same range: from the Snub Sado-Masochism of New York's Studio 54 to the funky ambience of the haunts where the next new dance will be born. And who goes? Blacks and whites, gays and straights, sybaritic boogie children snorting coke off glass table tops and working-

class Tony Maneros feverishly transcend the daily grind out there on the Saturday Night dance floor.

Disco seems to bridge the cusp between the American Way and the Great Outside. Visit a disco on, say, the island of Jamaica. One minute a local reggae song explodes out of a bank of State-side speakers, and the Visitors from the North left foot the oddly syncopated reggae movements the locals have down pat. Then the music smoothly sequesters into some stateside disco tune; and the dancing assumes equal axes, natives and visitors checking each other out for new moves.

Even in the U.S. of A., "mainstream" and "outside" coexist in a way they never did even during the supposedly egalitarian heyday of rock'n'roll. The Village People's disco jingles appeal both to those who think "Y.M.C.A." is the most wholesome song since

the Mormon Tabernacle Choir's last release and those who wink knowingly at its gay appeal. Black artists conquer the pop charts in a way they never did even during the height of rhythm and blues.

But any music that satisfies so broadly runs the risk of ultimate superficiality. Like rock before it, disco has moved from the outside to pop cult status to its current mass culture position. It's already an \$8 billion business, and the truly giant record companies, Columbia and Warner Brothers, have just gone disco to retain control of the grooves.

It's apt that one current funk/disco group is called Mass Production; the minimal music that is much of disco offers only so many variations on a theme. Many black musicians complain they've had to jump on the disco bandwagon or be trampled by it. Many whites hope that New

Wave or some other music will reassert rock—which wouldn't hurt disco creatively (every "Miss You" has been countered by a score of misses), but would sap its music-industry bankroll.

What does the next flash of the strobe augur? Before we know it, we could be saying, "Forget disco, here's the Next Big Thing."

But that's what they said would happen last year.

■ **Abe Peck**, *Chicago Sun-Times* feature writer, wrote the *Village People* cover story for *Rolling Stone's* recent disco issue.

3

By Tom Smucker

It's a little late to debate the merits of disco music as if it were something that we could think out of existence if we want to. Particularly in the pages of a paper like *IN THESE TIMES*, which expresses an interest in where the American public is at, not just where it should be at. Because disco has become one of the dominant forms of American and trans-Atlantic pop music.

Nevertheless, let me list what I think are some of disco's selling points, reasons besides its incredible popularity that should make it interesting to readers of ITT.

First: disco is the first pop music in a long while with a multi-racial appeal. Elvis may have topped the pop, country, and black charts when he started, but that was 25 years ago. Since then there's been borrowing between black and white music, and some crossing-over of performers from one audience to another, but the lines of racial segregation could always be drawn. Disco, however, is sung, produced, danced and listened to by whites and blacks (as well as Latins, but that's a more complicated case).

There is, naturally, disco music that appeals more to one audience or another, and none of this signals the end of racism. But disco has created a common cultural ground for whoever wants to use it, even if just to throw a successful dance party or disco fund-raiser for black and white friends or fellow workers—something that would have been hard with the segregated music of five years ago.

Second: disco is the first pop music with an openly gay component. It originated in the urban gay subculture and the trend-setters and taste-makers of disco continue to be gay. This doesn't end sexual repression, but it does mean that an interesting, even encouraging space exists that includes both straight and gay.

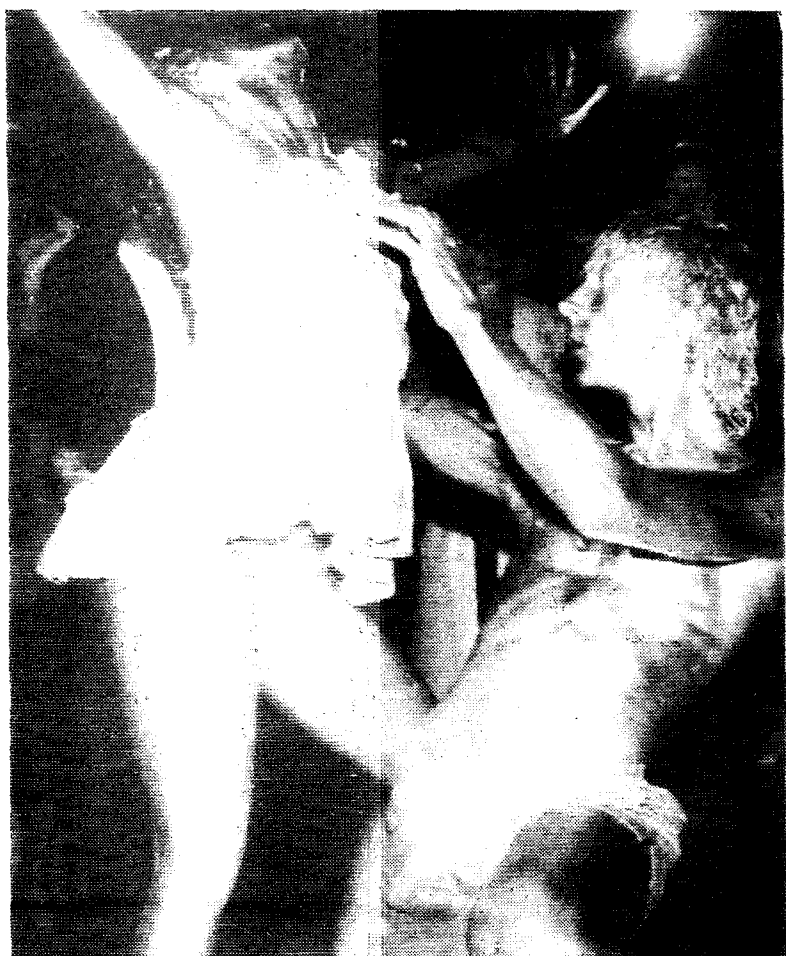
Finally: disco, like punk rock, encourages energetic public action, unlike the music of the laid-back singer-songwriters who dominated the early and mid-'70s. For every beautiful people gossip column gold mine like Studio 54, we should keep in mind the hundreds of discos and disco parties where

Much anti-disco opinion is racism feeding on paranoia:
Where will rock'n'rollers go,
now that "boogie" has
become "boogie down?"



AldiFranco

DISCO?



the rest of us escape our work-a-day lives. Whether this leads to stupor or euphoria is still an open question, but it beats nodding off in private. A culture that tries for some sort of public ecstasy, if only on Saturday night, is at least aroused enough to respond to alienation in a group. That's a first step.

There's a connection, largely ignored, between the return to dance and the return to mass public demonstrations. People have energy again. No matter how tentative that connection is, one would guess that populist left-wingers would try to make it as strong as possible, the way the anti-war movement tried to connect to rock'n'roll.

Yet many leftists feel free to dismiss disco as "mindless," or "watered down," or "plastic," and leave it at that, using the same narrow minds their leftist parents used to dismiss swing music and their leftist older siblings used to dismiss rock'n'roll.

It's just pop music and there's no reason to feel obligated to enjoy disco if you don't. But any political person should be interested in the space and energy it creates.

Tom Smucker writes on popular music for the *Village Voice* and a variety of other publications.



By Georgia Christgau

Disco never needed me. Since its earliest—say the Trammps' "Where the Happy People Go," it celebrated itself, its fans, its milieu. It could be superficial ("More, More, More") or upfront ("Push, Push in the Bush"), either way, it lacked subtlety, and didn't take well to the page. Since it happened "underground"—

played from the balcony read, "We hate disco because it sucks." This isn't opinion, it's willful ignorance, racism feeding on paranoia: where will rock'n'rollers go now that "boogie" has become "boogie down"?

If the Beatles turned on the world to Chuck Berry, the Bee Gees are inspired by the Sylistics, or at least revive the memory of Smokey Robinson. Disco carries on a tradition in American music of integration, a synthesis of sharing as well as antagonism. People my age, white and black, can swoon to Sam and Dave or the Righteous Brothers, but some of them haven't made the disco connection. Polyester suits, strobe lights and mirrored floors threaten the flannel and jeans lifestyle. One powerful image cancels out the other; much money has been invested promoting the disco way of life, money that must see a return.

Me, I try to ignore the promo-hype. I enjoy disco without going to Studio 54, and have never purchased a whistle or sniffed amyl nitrate. I listen to enough disco to stay interested in its history. 1974's "Rock Your Baby" sounds like a garage band compared to 1978's "Supernature." Partial to southern rhythm and blues, I dance to Candi Staton, KC and the Sunshine Band, and Betty Wright—who've all had huge disco "crossover" hits. A sucker for extremes, I'm taken with Grace Jones, and fascinated by disco deejays, new superstars who know how to make the music never stop. For dancing, I rely on some version of the L.A. Hustle a friend from Detroit learned on vacation in Miami, which still holds up on the floor after five years. Do I really love disco? No. But when Blondie hits big with "Once had a love, it was a gas/Soon turned out to be a pain in the ass," I celebrate disco, too. It's the same old song.

Georgia Christgau writes on music for the *Village Voice* and other publications.

gay bars, black and Latin communities—I and most of my peers had little experience with it. Then the Bee Gees wrote a monster hit for a white, or white enough, working-class hero in *Saturday Night Fever*, and disco became a phenomenon. And here we are, writing about it after it had already parodied itself with The Village People.

Anti-disco rock'n'rollers never needed me, either. They come complete with their own spectrum, from the bleeders at punk clubs to the fans of platinum-sellers like Bob Seger who sings, "Don't take me to no disco," to cheers from people who've never been inside one, either.

Three progressive FM rock stations in New York run anti-disco campaigns. It's not hard to do—radio is already segregated black from white. At a sellout show of Twisted Sister, a local group with a white following, a banner dis-

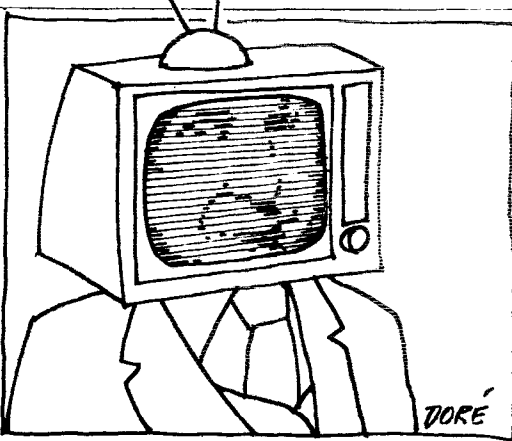
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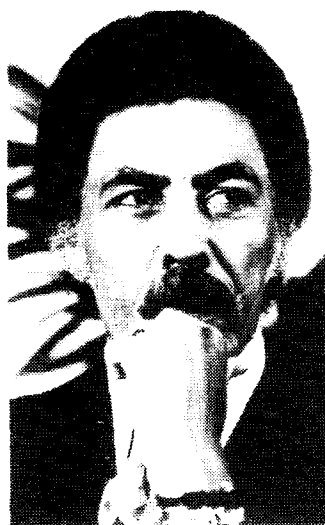
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TELEVISION



Martin Sheen, Rip Torn and Lawrence Pressman play Dean, Nixon and Haldeman.

Blind Ambition: The worm returns

By Al Auster

TV docudrama has two major pitfalls. If it is faithful to the facts, it can become unspeakably dull. If it tries to be entertaining, it runs the risk of distortion. Somehow CBS-TV's eight-hour docudrama, an adaptation of John Dean's *Blind Ambition*, managed to be both dull and inaccurate. Using the words of one of the Watergate conspirators, it left the TV audience "twisting slowly, slowly in the wind."

However, if anyone remem-

bers the wonderful world of Watergate, it was anything but dull—not with "sinister forces" erasing tapes, "stonewalling" and "smoking guns." At the time, CBS reporter Daniel Schorr wrote that millions of inveterate soap opera watchers were becoming addicted to Watergate and were even writing letters to the Committee's counsels demanding the removal of boring Butterfield and the return of loveable John Dean.

Producer David Susskind (*Elleanor and Franklin*), director George Schaefer (*Little Moon of Alban*) and writer Stanley Green-

berg (*Pueblo*) have succeeded in making Watergate almost insufferable. As I watched *Blind Ambition*, the thought that kept echoing through my mind was a paraphrase of Howard Baker's: "What did CBS know and when did it know it?"

The mini-series' major defect was making Dean into a flawed hero. Dean is presented as a rather passive figure who merely watched pop-eyed as things like the Huston plan, the fire-bombing of Brookings and the attempt to discredit the Dita Beard memo are paraded before him. There is nary a mention, of course, of a famous White House memo that Dean wrote, titled, "How We Can Use the Available Federal Machinery to Screw Our Political Enemies." As a matter of fact, when the White House tapes are brought into the drama, all we get are snippets of Dean's budding moral consciousness, particularly the famous March 21, 1973, "cancer on the presidency" speech.

If Dean, whom columnist Joseph Alsop considered a "bottom-dwelling slug" and whom Special Prosecutor Archibald Cox found absolutely venal, has any problems according to the TV version of *Blind Ambition*, it is that he likes to play Harry the Rat with women.

Along with the White House horrors, we get John and "Mo" Dean's domestic trauma. Playing "Mo" Dean is Theresa Russell (*Straight Time*), who bears some resemblance to the real "Mo" Dean. Her interpretation

of the plot is so filled with prepubescent emotions that you expect her to say "Gross!" when she hears about the coverup.

The rest of the cast also bears a striking resemblance to their real-life counterparts, and Rip Torn does an excellent Rich Little/David Fry caricature of Nixon. The only character who does not conform to docudrama's rules of physical verisimilitude is Martin Sheen (*The Missiles of October*) as John Dean. The only ac-

tor who would have come close to giving the part the right amount of physical and moral exactness is Michael Moriarty, and he is too closely identified in people's minds with Eric Dorff, the SS man in *Holocaust*.

At one point in the mini-series, Charles Colson (Michael Callan), says of Jeb Magruder in prison, "Sometimes Brother Jeb tries my Christian patience." As for *Blind Ambition*, one can say "Amen, Brother Colson."

Romero

Continued from page 23.

In the end they both opt for some kind of survival, for trying to live. And they've just left behind this incredible carnage.

When will you make Part III?

There are half a dozen deals sitting on the desk, from people ready to go ahead and make *Dead III*. I don't even want to think about it. I liked the ten year spacing between the first two films. I resisted for a long time after *Night*, out of a kind of paranoia. When I stopped being so hung up on being a "horror movie maker," even after I decided which way I wanted to go with it, I didn't get an idea until I actually met the people socially who own the mall.

Is the gore so directly up front in this film because it's what people can't see on television?

In a sense it is. That's what I was saying about trying to cut

through the noise. I don't care if this film isn't on TV for ten years. It's also part of the EC comic book experience.

Now that we're so conscious of violence in the cinema we don't have to back away from it. Tell me something like *Every Which Way but Loose* will promote less violent behavior in children than *Dawn of the Dead* will. The only way it does some damage is if you perceive it as a rehearsal or as a potential solution to your own life's problems.

The only thing I feel twinges about with *Dawn* is not the violence, but the looting. I have an occasional fear that somebody might say, "Yeah, I want those hi-fis"—but I think it's so outrageous that it's not going to do anything except make somebody drop some popcorn, and come out having enjoyed a movie.

There's no sequence in isolation in *Dawn* that hasn't been seen before. It's outrageous in its attitude, and it's abundant. And it's an old-fashioned movie experience. What saves it is that it's so extreme.

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MOVIES

Only the dead know Pittsburgh

George Romero and his all-American nightmare

By Pat Aufderheide

If anyone ever wanted incarnations of the concept of alienation, George Romero's zombies are it. They are dumb but powerful in mass; crude distortions of human beings as they could be; and driven by forces they cannot discern but that are simple—like hunger. His zombies are an un-subtle comment on death-in-life in the American home town these days.

His new film, *Dawn of the Dead*, coming ten years after his cult masterpiece, *Night of the Living Dead*, continues his commentary. In *Dawn*, the zombies are everywhere and the heart of America, the television communications system, is in the last stages of falling apart. Four people—two policemen and a husband-and-wife media team—escape in a helicopter and land, running out of gas, in a shopping mall. They hide out for months in the crawl space over the mall, where air raid shelter supplies have been hidden. They sample the mall's many treasures and live well, in spite of run-ins with the zombies who stuporously ride the escalators and stumble along the mall's corridors. Eventually the run-ins cause two deaths—while a motorcycle gang's arrival forces a choice for life or death-in-life for the remaining two people, who escape again.

ple, who escape again.

Dawn's critique of consumerism, its pointed comments on the ability of people to fight when they should work together, and its odd sympathy for the dumb but persistent zombies make *Dawn of the Dead* a spitefully playful dark vision. Social commentary rests lightly on the film, but not because it's gracefully inserted. Rather it's in contrast to the fabulously gory close-up filming of the zombies eating human flesh, gnawing on human bones, taking large bites out of living necks and shoulders, tearing open guts and pawing over the intestines. Romero makes cartoon violence a norm in the film. His critique of American lifestyles gives the gore a reason, makes it a metaphor, without reducing any of its shock value.

Romero has, in the ten years between his two horror films, made several others. They too have a distinctive mix of social comment and boisterous movie—movie manipulation. The amazing success of his *Night*—made with \$115,000 in Pittsburgh and a smash success on the usually penny-ante independent circuit—gave him license to make non-horror films (and eventually to make *Dawn* with a \$1.5 million budget).

One of them, *Jack's Wife*, concerns a suburban housewife who assumes the role of a witch and

flirts with the notion of evil in the form of the Devil. Her eventual madness is a statement both on the crazy-making loneliness of the so-called good life, and also a comment on a futile modern need for belief.

Martin contains these themes as well. In *Martin*, a young man may be a vampire, some 84 years old. He can't convince outsiders that he really is one, with problems like any other vampire. He calls up a radio talk show, and the deejay treats him like a favored crank. But neither can he convince his traditionalist grandfather, who puts garlic on his door and brandishes a cross, that times have changed, that the old incantations won't work. The modern vampire is lonely, lost without belief and abandoned by tradition in a world of objects.

Romero, in a recent *Film Comment* interview, commented about *Martin*: "For a traditional vampire, the old days are gone: the industrial pride is gone, the jobs are gone, the church is collapsing. Everyone is just surviving. The disintegration is so evident around Pittsburgh. Little mill towns that used to be thriving, proud communities are gone with the wind."

Dawn continues the concern with tradition that cannot be revived, and without which there is no sense. In an early scene, SWAT team members find a basement full of zombified corpses, bodies that had not been handed over to the authorities for burning and so mysteriously condemned to death-in-life. As the hardened military men aim their guns at the writhing, gnawing, bloody mass of post-humanity, tears trickle down their cheeks. One says, "Why did they leave them here?" The other answers bitterly, "Because they still believe in respect for the dead."

Romero's films have a wild exuberance that makes them important even when they're too strong—as *Dawn* is in parts—to stomach. He's a man whose work fits in the same era with work done by bigger name (and more pretentious) filmmakers today. People like John Milius, F.F. Coppola, Paul Schrader and Martin Scorsese are also people who cannot look away from social issues, who scent disaster, who hear rumblings of uncontrollable change. They interpret those ominous sensual clues by recasting them as fear, paranoia and bravado; they depend (just as Romero does) on a macho stance to define their sense of loss.

Like those men, Romero's dark social insights don't lead him to an alternative vision, to a way out of the mess that is finding its cinematic vocabulary. The great benefit of Romero, in comparison with the new Hollywood artists, is that he's funny while he still communicates a sense of things out of control.

Romero's vision

By Lenny Rubinstein

Is *DAWN OF THE DEAD* a remake of *NIGHT OF THE LIVING DEAD*?

I originally wrote *Night of the Living Dead* as a trilogy. It was inspired by a Richard Matheson book, *I Am Legend*, which I liked but felt it missed the point.

In *Night*, the zombies appear and even though the human protagonists all die, operative normal human society is on top. In *Dawn*, there's an equal balance. And in the third part, the zombie society is the operative society. We find out that the human sell-outs are living underground in the bomb shelters, while the zombies are up on top, fighting out the wars. Only the names and the dates are changed.

So nothing has changed with the revolution. That's all it is. It's not meant to be scathing socio-political satire, merely a handshake with the audience. *Dawn of the Dead* has another layer that particularly indicts America in terms of consumerism, which was my attraction to the mall as the setting.

The movie advances the phenomenon into the second stage, of equal balance, so you don't know which way it's going to go. It also begins to indicate a little bit of intelligence on the part of the zombie society—the guy who picks up and chooses between one gun and another at the end.

The confusion of the officials is almost a sub-theme in *Dawn*, and could be considered a near-cause why the normal human society ceases to operate and loses control—inability of the operative society to find out what's going on and to deal with it sufficiently. Misinformation is a factor—the station manager of the television station who wants to stay on the air with outdated information, for example.

DAWN has more humor than NIGHT.

There's a lot of humor. In fact, the toughest thing was to resist throwing even more humor into it.

I like to shuffle the gore and the humor together in my work. In fact, a lot of people point out that as a problem in my films. But that's the way I have the most fun with these kinds of topics. Hitchcock says you have to follow something heavy with humor, but I think you can shuffle it all in and play it off at the same time.

Particularly in this kind of film, which is meant to be "trash." I use the word advisedly, but that's what it's about. You can't use words like "camp" and "goof"

anymore, they've fallen from grace—but that's what it is. I'm dying to create an old-fashioned movie experience and yet be really extreme with violent aspects of it and the gore. It's a comic book.

You have to be extreme to cut through the white noise today. *Dawn* is a roller-coaster ride.

Is that why you put the SWAT team into the film?

Sure. Two people who know how to use a gun—the people who are equipped to survive, in that sense. Except for the woman, who has the traditional female problems—she's stuck in suburbia, which in this case happens to be the crawl space above the mall, and she's great with child. She has the traditional problems, even though she'd like to be down there fighting it out with the zombies.

At the start, the heroes just push the zombies around, but then there's a build-up of more and more gore.

I tried to pace that out a little. It does come on like a barrage for some people. Some say they've never seen so much blood, ever. Maybe I just don't feel that. There are peaks and valleys. You can graph the violence and the humor, and those two graphs follow pretty closely right in with each other.

Then there's the basic tension: what's happening to the people. That's very different. There are three groups, and three rather obvious changes. We have protagonists against the zombies and then, all of a sudden, after the protagonists really decide to take the mall, sympathies start changing a little bit, and then the third invasionary force comes in. I like to play around with changing the definition of who's the protagonist and who's the monster.

You make a sharp contrast between the team discipline of the four heroes and the random biker mob, which ends up literally getting torn to shreds.

The bikers represent the rest of humanity; they make up the "equal balance" I talked about. It's them versus the zombies. They go into the mall armed to the teeth, a mob, and they want that stuff.

Our people are really absorbers of the phenomenon all the way through, making their own judgments and doing what they have to do to survive. Finally there are only two characters. The character of the woman all along has been, "Hey, I'm not too sure here what we're doing."

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Cinema verite?

Monroeville Mall is the largest shopping center in the world. Or at least, its developers claim, the largest between Boston and Chicago. It is a mecca for the hordes of shoppers living in the many suburbs east of Pittsburgh.

Monroeville Mall is also the locale of *Dawn of the Dead*. Two years ago, when *Dead* was being filmed in Pittsburgh, Oxford Development, owner of Monroeville Mall, demanded that the film make absolutely no mention of the mall's identity. The Pittsburgh police department was also wary of being associated with Romero's film, and demanded that the police launch used in a Monongehela River scene have the name "Pittsburgh" obscured.

No such caution is exhibited by the movie's zombies. Hired locally as extras at \$1 per night and all the catered food they could eat, these Pittsburghers have flocked to see the film. And they like it. Neither the gore nor the anti-consumerist tone of the film bothers them.

"I thought it was great," said Janet Edmiston. "My whole

didn't bother me at all."

John Tuite and his sisters Ann and Kate agreed. John and some of his friends were hired for an eight-hour night of shooting.

"I really liked it," said John. "Only a few scenes made my stomach turn. I enjoy the attention. People are always coming up and asking me if they saw me in the film, even in church."

When *Dawn of the Dead* was released, it opened at three theaters in the Pittsburgh area: two large ones downtown, and a very small theater in the Monroeville Mall shopping center. The small suburban theater in Monroeville has had much larger audiences than the downtown theaters.

It reminds one of a scene from the movie. As the zombies shamle through the Monroeville mall in a weird semblance of a crowd of shoppers, one live person asks his friend, "But why do they come here?" "Instinct. Memory," his friend answers. "Apparently this place played a large role in their lives."

Apparently.

—by Eric Leif Davin



RED DIAPER DADDY



Vickie, Peggy, Saul and David in earlier days; below, Saul Wellman today.

On April 20, 1979, over 300 members of Detroit's left community gathered for a \$15 a plate dinner to honor NAM member Saul Wellman for "A Lifetime in the Movement." Organized by the Detroit NAM chapter and a group of Saul's friends and other organizations, the evening included reminiscences, music and slides and ended with the singing of the *INTERNATIONALE*. Detroit NAM made over \$3,000 on the event, mostly from a 24-page souvenir book; the funds will be used to start the Detroit Socialist Center this fall.

This speech, by Saul's son, was presented at the dinner.

By David Wellman

R AISING SAULLY WELLMAN has been a difficult political task. When I first met him, 38 years ago, he was quite sure of himself politically. His political priorities were so firm that when I arrived he wasn't there to greet me: he was at a Communist Party convention.

The first problem we had bringing him up was that by the time I met him he was already a legend in certain circles. He'd organized his first union; he'd fought in Spain. A character in Clancy Sigal's book, *Going A Way*, is based on Saully:

The man the party had assigned to the auto industry in Michigan was a Spanish Civil War thug who held considerable fascination for me because he was so perfectly a hybrid of Machine-Gun McGurn and Stalin when he was Koba agitating the Baku oil-field workers. The main trouble with this man—a former combat paratrooper, twice winner of the Silver Star, ex-captain of the Lincoln Battalion—was that he knew next to nothing about how automobiles are put together.... He was the only Communist of whom I was always, in his presence, afraid.

I can't speak to the validity of the first part of the description. But that last sentence captures a feeling I had lots of times.

His political upbringing was complicated by the fact that he spent so much time away from home. I vaguely remember him lacing up shiny paratrooper boots one cold dark morning in the 1940s on his way to fight in World War II. We met a couple years later at the Long Island Railroad station in Freeport, Long Island. I didn't understand why he was gone between 1949 and 1950; I didn't know what "going underground" meant. I knew why he left again in 1951. I didn't like it; but I understood. We didn't see much of each other during the Smith Act Trial, and when he was convicted he was off again—this time to Milan Federal Penitentiary.

There probably were times when I was derelict in my parent-raising duties, because I deeply respected my father and used his life as a yardstick with which to measure my own political development. And I never quite measured up. At 17 he'd been kicked out of high school. When I was 17, I was struggling to finish high school. He'd organized his first union when he was 19. I was a college student at 19. At 23 he'd fought in Spain. I was only a civil rights demonstrator and graduate student at 23.

There are times when I still think in these terms. I'm 38, I teach at a university, I'm working with some trade unions, I write. What was he doing at 38? I'll let the FBI speak. In a memo from a Mr. Nichols to a Mr. Tolson, Sept. 16, 1952, Nichols says:

It is proposed that two press releases be issued on the morning of Sept. 17, 1952.... We have learned from the New York case that the Communists themselves will announce the apprehensions if we do not. We cannot afford to let them beat us. The following releases are proposed:

Arrests will be made of the Detroit Subjects at 9 o'clock Eastern Daylight time. All six, whose names are enumerated, should be in custody at 9 o'clock our time, or shortly thereafter.

Saully's name was first on a list of six. My initial attempts to develop his political consciousness usually took the form of arguments about: when would I clean up my room; why hadn't I done the dishes correctly the first time; when would I finally get my hair cut; when would I stop dressing like a beatnik. His questions stimulated our first discussions on the role of individualism in history, the correct line, democratic centralism and the two-line struggle. While he was usually left in content, he was always right in form. And we did things his way. Peggy mediated, but history never absolved me.

The '50s were an important learning experience for both of us. Saully made real progress during this period; there were even indications of premature new leftism.

When he was arraigned on Smith Act charges, and the indictment was read, he was asked if he was the defendant Saul Wellman. With a completely straight face, and a dramatic air that would have made Jerry Rubin or Abbie Hoffman proud,

he said, "I am Saul Wellman, but you must have the wrong Saul Wellman. I never did those things." Saully displayed some distinctly premature New Left tendencies during the trial. He heckled Judge Picard relentlessly. And when the trial was over and he

was back in jail he got into a tussle with the Party over an issue that would pre-occupy a new generation of leftists ten years hence. Saully's case was on appeal. But given the ruthlessly high bail, he was confined to Milan Prison. At the time, the Party had a policy that people on appeal not start officially serving their time—because it would be an admission of guilt. But given the unlikely possibility that the conviction would be reversed, the time Saully spent in jail on appeal would be "dead time": it wouldn't count against his five-year sentence. With a pragmatism that would be associated with the new left, Saully insisted that the people doing the time should make the decision.

Saully was particularly resistant on cultural questions and didn't really come of political age until I left home in the early 1960s. Whenever he visited me in Berkeley and we walked along Telegraph Avenue, he badgered me with questions. "Why do the men wear their hair so long that they look like women? Can't they afford haircuts?" he would ask, his hair neatly trimmed, looking like the paratrooper who put the fear of god in Clancy Sigal. "How are you ever going to make a revolution looking like that?"

He had trouble with what we called combining the cultural with the political. When one of the strikes on Berkeley's campus was smashed by the police and the administration, we didn't sing the *Internationale*. Instead we sang the Beatles' song, "We all live in a yellow submarine." Saully thought that was silly.

But much as he resisted, the cultural side of the '60s left their imprint even on him. There was a period in the late '60s when he wore Levis, a Levi jacket, a leather Greek boatman's cap with longish, bushy grey hair coming out from under it at the sides, and a beautiful Hemingway-like beard.

Saully wasn't the only political parent raised in the '60s; and I wasn't the only offspring participating in the process. One time during the Free Speech Move-

ment we rejected an offer made by the university administration and the rejection was reported in the national media. That night I received a call from Saully in Detroit. "Accept that offer!" he exclaimed. "You've gone as far as you can with that issue." The next day I complained to Bettina Aptheker—daughter of Herbert Aptheker—and Bob Starobin—son of Joe and Norma Starobin—about my father who was calling from Detroit to counsel compromise.

"You got a call too?" responded Bettina and Bob almost in unison. At exactly the same point all three of us received phone calls from our fathers with the same advice: "Accept the offer."

I got another phone call from Saully the day I got out of jail: "I called you last night during the sit-in to tell you a strategic retreat was in order," he said. "But you guys were right and I was wrong. Congratulations!"

It hasn't been easy raising Saully Wellman, but it wouldn't have been possible without my sister and mother. Vickie has been teaching him—and me—that raising children and accomplishing a family is a political act. She has also taught us how to be soft and strong; how to smile and love.

Peggy tried to teach us that in an earlier period. The government, her work and union activities made it difficult for her. So, by example, she taught us something even more basic: how to be respectfully irreverent and intensely loyal, both with your feet firmly on the ground and without becoming overly impressed with your own self-importance. She taught us about dignity and courage. And how to laugh—often at ourselves. She could make Saully laugh.

The man who prosecuted Saully, William Hundley, prosecuted other communists, with the same outcome: the Supreme Court overturned the convictions. Hundley showed up 20 years later as John Mitchell's defense attorney and lost that case, too. Most recently he unsuccessfully defended Mr. Park of the Koreagate scandal. "Send him a telegram," Peggy told Saully, "Ask him when he's going to stop backing losers."

The Saully Wellman I know today isn't the same guy I met 38 years ago. We haven't always agreed. And we haven't always settled our differences in a comradely fashion. But one thing is for sure: he's never defaulted on his honor or courage. And that's not simply a political attribute. It's a family heirloom.

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